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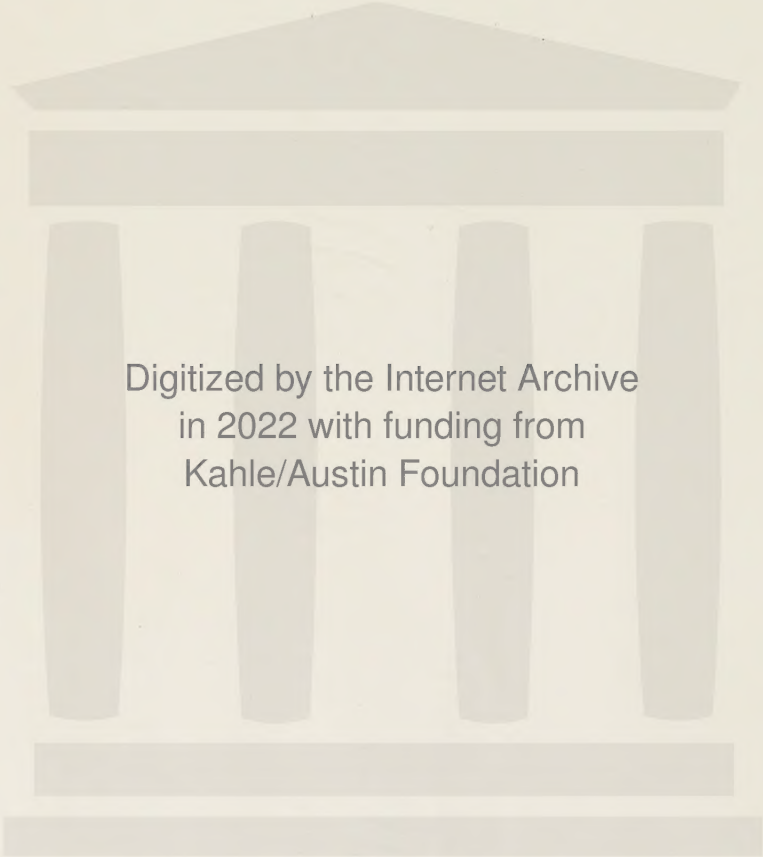


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HISTORY OF AMERICAN ORATORY

BY

WARREN CHOATE SHAW, A. M.

PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC SPEAKING
AT KNOX COLLEGE

AUTHOR OF
THE ART OF DEBATE



VOLUME II

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CHAPTER XIV

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LINCOLN'S PLACE AMONG THE ANTE-BELLUM AND CIVIL WAR ORATORS

Abraham Lincoln was the foremost campaign orator of the Republican party in the early years of its existence and the most inspired spokesman of the great mass of the American people during the period of the Civil War. At first, an orator, known only within the bounds of his own State, he suddenly rose to a position of oratorical eminence throughout the nation; and then gradually, through occasional formal utterances, he was accepted throughout the world as one of the most classic speakers of the English tongue.

The period in which Lincoln struggled upward to recognition in statesmanship and oratory was identical with that in which Stephen A. Douglas was regarded as the most powerful political orator of America, that is, from 1854 to 1860.

This was the period in which Douglas launched his theory of popular sovereignty as a means of terminating the agitation of slavery as a national issue, by conferring upon the people of new Territories the right to settle for themselves the question of whether or not they desired slavery.

In this period, the Missouri Compromise was repealed in order that the theory of popular sovereignty might be given a trial in Kansas and Nebraska; and, in this period, there occurred the civil war in Kansas between the free-soil and the pro-slave factions. Then came the *Dred Scott Decision*, which

practically nullified the popular sovereignty theory of Douglas and threatened the extension of slavery into all the old free States. And, in retaliation for this aggressive expansionist movement of the slave power, the Northern States, in many instances, passed *Personal Liberty Laws* to nullify the *Fugitive Slave Act*; and the extreme Abolitionists, with John Brown as their man of action, organized the raid on Harper's Ferry to start a slave uprising.

The Republican party, of which Lincoln was the chief spokesman in the West, while William H. Seward was its chief spokesman in the East, opposed this expansionist movement of slavery, which at first Douglas seemed to be promoting; but they would not countenance such movements as that of John Brown, which Wendell Phillips thoroughly approved, or the *Personal Liberty Laws*, which men like Charles Sumner of course upheld.

Lincoln, therefore, when he was winning national recognition as an orator during these first six years of his party's infancy, was a mild anti-slavery man in comparison with other anti-slavery agitators of the Abolitionist type; but he was accused, nevertheless, of having their extreme point of view, and of threatening the continued existence of slavery in the States of the old South.

Hence, when he came to prominence and was nominated and elected to the presidency in 1860, he was the storm center and target of all Southern oratory in the period of the secession movement.

Against him and his ideals, and against the Union of which he was President, was directed the eloquence of all the great oratorical giants of the South, among whom appeared such men as Wigfall of Texas, Benjamin of Louisiana, Davis of Mississippi, Yancey of Alabama, Toombs and Iverson of

Georgia, Rhett of South Carolina, and Breckinridge of Kentucky.

Almost alone among these Southern orators, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia begged and pleaded with impressive eloquence that his State should not make Lincoln's election a pretext for secession; but even he, at last, gave way, and became an ardent supporter of the Confederacy built on the corner-stone of slavery.

When the great Civil War developed, therefore, Lincoln occupied a pivotal position; and by virtue of his office as President, he became the accepted spokesman of the nation, in which capacity, from time to time, he delivered memorable addresses, that have become classic utterances in the world's oratorical literature.

But even then he was not permitted to stand alone as the sole orator of the Northern cause. With him and sometimes against him, were the powerful oratorical spokesmen of the Senate, Charles Sumner, Benjamin F. Wade, and Henry Winter Davis. With him and in advance of him, was the great Abolitionist agitator, Wendell Phillips. But powerfully behind him stood the stalwart pulpit orator, Henry Ward Beecher. And beside him at Gettysburg stood the great orator of a preceding generation, the old-time Whig statesman and advocate of Union—Edward Everett.

Whether in power, or out of power, therefore, Lincoln moved in the company of great orators, arrayed either for him or against him. The years that had witnessed his rise to fame were years of storm and stress, and so likewise were the years in which he was the recognized official spokesman of the nation. They were years that produced great eloquence and great orators in abundance; but they were also years in which no more eloquent political leader, no more able protagonist of

freedom, no more statesmanlike defender of the Union, and no more ardent advocate of justice blended with mercy, was to be found than Abraham Lincoln, the martyr President.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln occupies a unique position in American history. Venerated above all other statesmen, with not even Washington as an exception, this martyred President is regarded as the great savior of the nation—a grand, heroic, and solitary figure, to be remembered always for his patient, just, and far-reaching statesmanship, that guided the ship of state through the storm and stress of four bloody years of fratricidal strife.

Lincoln was not merely great as a statesman, however, but great as an orator as well; for, if all the acts of his statesmanship could be obliterated, he would still be remembered both here and abroad, as one of the world's most renowned masters of the art of simple and sublime eloquence, as an untutored genius that could give to the world, in his oratory, some of its never-fading gems of permanent literature, which stand beside the classic productions of its greatest orators in all ages.

This great man, who has won such distinction both as a statesman and as an orator, was born in a rude log cabin, of lowly parentage, in a frontier community, near the present town of Hodgenville, Kentucky, in the year 1809; and, in every way, he deserves to be called—like Patrick Henry, the great orator of the Revolution—a “child of the forest.”

For the first eight years of his childhood, he was brought up next to nature, studying the wild life about him, listening to the stories of trappers, hunters, and Indian fighters, and absorbing from his mother much of the mysticism that she derived from circuit-riding preachers, who, at frequent inter-

vals, in religious revivals, stirred the frontier communities to the highest pitch of religious fervor.

Just at the time, however, when the boy, Lincoln, had grown sufficiently to assist his father by riding to the gristmill with corn that was to be ground for the family use, his father—who was always shiftless—found it necessary to make a new start in life in an entirely new country.

At the age of eight, then, Lincoln removed with his parents to the wilderness of southern Indiana, and lived in another rude shelter, hardly worthy the name of cabin, on the banks of Pigeon Creek, about fifteen miles north of the Ohio river in Spencer County.

In this new home, after one hard winter of exposure, Lincoln lost his mother, to whom, he said, he owed all that he was and all that he ever hoped to be. But shortly, thereafter, he came under the influence of a step-mother, who forced his father to make the home at least habitable, and who brought with her into the wilderness such books for the boy to read, as the *Bible*, *Aesop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Then, it was, that Lincoln gained his reputation as a rail-splitter and as a droll story-teller among the neighboring farmhands; while he began also to obtain the rudiments of self-education, as he sprawled out on the cabin floor at night before the crackling log-fire to do sums in arithmetic on the back of a wooden shovel, which he shaved off repeatedly in order to get a new writing surface.

Then, it was, also, that Lincoln grew up to manhood. At this time, he became the champion boxer and wrestler of the neighborhood; and, during this period he got his first glimpse of the great world beyond Pigeon Creek, in a trip on a flatboat, down the Ohio and the Mississippi, to New Orleans.

When he was twenty-one years old, in the year 1830, both he and his father felt the impulse again to move further westward; and, accordingly, they set out once more to make the regularly recurring fresh start in life.

This time, their family migration took them to the Sangamon river in Illinois; and, there, Lincoln, after assisting in establishing his father, struck out for himself. His first venture was another famous trip to New Orleans on a flatboat, when unauthenticated tradition says that he first witnessed the shocking spectacle of slaves being sold under the hammer of the auctioneer, and when he is reported to have said, "If I ever get a chance to hit that institution, I'll hit it hard."

Upon his return from this trip, he settled down in the now defunct river-town of New Salem, where, as clerk in the village grocery store, he soon acquired notoriety by his story-telling, and political leadership in the community by his prowess as a fighter when he thrashed the chief bully of a neighboring band of ruffians, who, thereafter, became his staunch supporters.

With the support of this gang, which was known as the "Clary Grove Boys," he ran for the legislature in 1832 and secured all the votes but three in his community. Such support, however, was insufficient to elect him; and, in the meantime, he led a company of men into the Black Hawk War, which came to an end before he had a chance to smell powder.

Then he returned to New Salem and established himself as a storekeeper by buying up a place, that his friends, the "Clary Grove Boys," had previously sacked and put out of business.

This experience in store-keeping was as unfortunate financially as had been any of his former ventures; but, during the few months in which he was so occupied, he happened to come across a complete edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries* in the

bottom of a barrel of household goods, that he bought from a stranded wayfarer. These books he began to read; and, finding them intensely interesting, he determined to become a lawyer.

Before this ambition could be satisfied, however, he failed in business; and, to recoup his fortunes, he staked all his worldly resources upon an election to the State legislature in 1834. This time, his efforts to win political recognition were successful; and, for three successive terms, between 1834 and 1840, he represented his district at the State capital, where he led the movement to change the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield.

In 1837, Lincoln himself removed from New Salem to Springfield; and, there, after being admitted to the bar, he began to practice law in competition with a most distinguished company of eminent rivals, among whom appeared conspicuously Lincoln's friend, Edward D. Baker, and Lincoln's political opponent, Stephen A. Douglas.

For ten years, he devoted himself to his profession, and then ambition led him to seek an election to the lower House of Congress. In 1846, he was nominated for this position by the Whig party, against Peter Cartwright, an evangelist, who was the Democratic nominee.

The issue of the campaign between Lincoln and Cartwright at this time, when the country-at-large was absorbed in problems arising from the War with Mexico, was strongly personal and utterly devoid of national significance. Lincoln, as a Whig, was faced with the ridiculous charge of being an aristocrat, and then, as a non-church-member, with the charge of being an infidel. The first charge, he, of course, demolished eagerly as a humorous absurdity; but the second charge, he disdained to answer, except in the following way:—Cartwright,

one evening, was conducting a revival, and Lincoln was present. The evangelist asked all those who wanted to go to Heaven to stand. Then he asked all those who wanted to go to Hell to stand. Lincoln alone remained seated; whereupon Mr. Cartwright asked him where he was going? And Lincoln replied simply: "I'm going to Congress."

And so it turned out. Lincoln went to Congress for one term between 1847 and 1849. There, he made a wonderful reputation as a story-teller. There, he voted regularly with the Whig party in opposition to the war measures of the Polk administration. There, he delivered two characteristic speeches: the one, a lawyer's plea, on his so-called *Spot Resolutions*, attacking the administration on its pretexts for the war; and the other, a campaign speech, on *Military Heroes*, in support of General Zachary Taylor, the Whig nominee for President, and in ridicule of General Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee. But, like Thomas Corwin, Lincoln soon came to realize that, in national politics, his buffoonery got him nowhere, and that his opposition to a war administration was bound to make him unpopular and to leave him a political derelict.

When his single term of office in Congress was completed, his political future seemed sealed. He had no chance of reelection. In 1850, he was offered the governorship of the Oregon Territory; but this he declined; and he settled down once more to build up his practice as a lawyer.

Until 1854, Lincoln remained in political obscurity, but in that year he was again raised to prominence by his opposition to Douglas's policy of popular sovereignty as embodied in the act of organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

When Douglas returned to Illinois to defend himself after the passage of this measure, he found that his opponents had

selected Lincoln to answer him on the stump. Douglas first tried to speak in Chicago, but his constituents would not listen to him. He did succeed, however, in getting a hearing at Springfield on October 3, 1854; and, in reply to this speech, Lincoln spoke most eloquently in the same place on the following day, and then still more eloquently under similar circumstances twelve days later in Peoria.

These two speeches made Lincoln famous over night. In that very year, he became, as a result of these speeches, the Whig candidate for the United States Senate; but, not being able to muster more than fifteen votes in the legislature out of a total of ninety-seven in a three-cornered fight, he threw his votes to Lyman Trumbull, an anti-slavery Democrat, and against Governor Matteson, the Douglas Democrat, thereby securing the election of Trumbull.

Thereafter, Lincoln was one of the powerful leaders of public opinion in Illinois. The new Republican party tried to appropriate him at once; but he did not make up his mind to join this party until he had pondered the move for another year and a half. Then he came out boldly as a Republican; and, at the State Convention of that party in 1856, he delivered one of his most memorable speeches to strike the keynote of the campaign—a speech once thought lost, but now recovered and printed in his complete works—a speech so powerful and fascinating that the official reporters could not report it.

Though Lincoln received a number of votes in the National Republican Convention of 1856 for the Vice-Presidential nomination, his real introduction to the nation as a whole came in the summer and autumn of 1858, when he was the candidate of the Republicans in Illinois, against Stephen A. Douglas.

for the seat that Douglas had occupied in the United States Senate.

The senatorial campaign of that year started out with Lincoln's famous "*House Divided Against Itself*" Speech, delivered before the Republican State Convention on June 17, 1858, when Lincoln accepted his nomination; and it continued in a series of joint debates, interspersed with numerous other stump speeches, that took the two candidates into every community of importance in Illinois.

In these debates, Lincoln secured the approval of a majority of the voters in Illinois, but lost the senatorship by the votes of a number of hold-over Douglas Democrats in the State legislature.

As Lincoln himself said, however, this contest was nothing in comparison to the presidential election in 1860. By admissions that he forced Douglas to make, he was sure that Douglas would lose the support of the South for President two years later; and, by matching his eloquence against that of the "Little Giant," he made himself so famous, that he became a likely candidate of the Republicans for that office.

What Lincoln lacked as a candidate for the Republican nomination was a political backing in the East, and this he secured by a famous speech, called *The Cooper Institute Address*, delivered on February 27, 1860, in New York City, on an invitation from a committee of which Henry Ward Beecher was a leading member.

In the audience that heard Lincoln on this occasion was a young man destined to rise to future eminence as a lawyer, orator, and diplomat. That man was Joseph H. Choate; and he has left us a description of the effect of Lincoln's eloquence. "That night," says Choate in his address on *Lincoln*, "the great hall, and the next day, the whole city rang with delighted

applause and congratulations, and he, who had come as a stranger, departed with the laurels of a great triumph."

Against William H. Seward, a powerful orator and leading statesman of the party, who had been, for more than ten years, a United States Senator from New York, Lincoln did secure the Republican nomination; and, in a four-cornered fight against Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell, he was elected to the presidency.

Almost immediately, the secession movement began; and, when Lincoln took office, he held undisputed authority over only one-half the nation. Then four purgatorial years of civil strife began with Lincoln at the helm; and, during this strife, Lincoln was able to strike that hard blow at slavery, which tradition says he promised to deliver, when, on January 1, 1863, he emancipated the slaves in all the States then in rebellion.

In 1864, Lincoln was overwhelmingly re-elected President. The war was nearly over; but his troubles concerning reconstruction only thickened about him; and as he was preparing to face dissension within his own party, to force the radical leaders of Congress to take a more lenient view toward re-admitting the Southern States into the Union, he was shot down by a cowardly assassin on April 14, 1865.

Because Lincoln was "the most American of all Americans," he has won a permanent place in the affection of his countrymen; and because he set before the world an example of the highest statesmanship, he has won an equally permanent place among the great leaders of all times and all peoples.

Many factors in his personality contributed to his elevation above the many men who were his rivals for position and fame, but not the least among these was his strange power of elo-

quence, hardly to be expected in such a man, yet possessed in a degree that has seldom been surpassed.

None would suspect, that, in this untutored man, a child of the wilderness and the frontier—tall, lank, ungainly, with homely features, and a shrill strident voice—there should reside a power that would hold vast audiences enthralled. Yet, in spite of every disadvantage of birth, training, and appearance, nature had created in this man, as it had in Patrick Henry before him, another “forest-born Demosthenes.”

At first, like many another orator—like Webster for example—Lincoln had a tendency toward bombast in his utterances; but, gradually as his experience deepened, he began to develop a style peculiarly his own, simple, and direct, bristling with wit, compact with logic, crowded with homely illustrations and pointed anecdotes, that led captive rich and poor, learned and unlearned, in a way that challenges comparison with the preaching of Christ in the parables or in the *Sermon on the Mount*.

There are three distinct stages in the development of Lincoln's oratory. The first stage carries him through his experience in Congress down to 1849, when he was content to be a political hack in the service of the Whig party, as in the case of his speech on *The Spot Resolutions* on January 12, 1848; or when he was content to emulate the buffoonery of “Tom” Corwin's *Reply to General Crary* in his own ludicrous speech on *Military Heroes*, delivered July 27, 1848.

The second stage was when he stood forth as the great phrase-maker of the Republican party, at least in the West, between 1854 and 1860, when he displayed his keen, shrewd, analytical, penetrating powers of intellect, cornering, trapping, and overthrowing his chief political opponent in the arena of public debate, when he gave to the world his *Peoria Speech* in

reply to Douglas in 1854; his *Address to the Republican State Convention* in 1856; his "*House Divided Against Itself*" *Speech* and his numerous speeches in the *Lincoln-Douglas Debates* in 1858; and his *Cooper Institute Address* in 1860.

And the third stage was when, after his election and during his presidency, he was sobered by the thought of his tremendous responsibility in the face of rebellion, when he sought to re-unite a divided people, to do justice, to be firm and yet to be merciful; when he gave to the world, under these circumstances, and with these motives, those great legacies of beautiful literary expression which are found in his *Farewell to His Neighbors at Springfield* in 1861; in his *First Inaugural Address* of the same year; in his immortal *Gettysburg Address*, delivered in 1863; and in his *Second Inaugural Address*, delivered in 1865 just before his death.

Compared with other great orators and other great statesmen, Lincoln was not long in the public eye; but, during the brief period when he was active, great questions were threshed out, great decisions were reached, and great revolutions in society were brought about. By his great gift of eloquence, he raised himself to the highest station of responsibility, and while he occupied that position, he gave to the world whenever the occasion demanded further exhibitions of inspired eloquence that have never been surpassed.

To have been a loved and venerated martyr, to have been the savior and hope of his nation, and to have been the author of emancipation for millions of another race, is praise sufficient; but, for completeness in the record, to this all-sufficient praise, must be added the statement that Abraham Lincoln will stand forever as "the equal of any man who ever wrote his mother tongue"—a prose-poet whose greatest utterances read like "a chapter of Holy Writ" which never can grow old

or stale—an orator whose name must be written with the names of the most renowned in all ages of the world's eloquence.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF LINCOLN'S "HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF" SPEECH AND THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

Among all the debates of American history, none is more renowned, and none has had more immediate and far-reaching consequences than the debates between Lincoln and Douglas in the summer of 1858, when these two great rivals met on the hustings in Illinois as opposing candidates for election to the United States Senate.

To understand the issue involved in these debates, it is necessary to understand some of the more important events of American history that immediately preceded them. It is necessary, for example, to know, that, four years before, Douglas had launched his theory of popular sovereignty in the *Kansas-Nebraska Bill*, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, and, that, as a result of this legislation, civil war began in Kansas, and the Republican party was organized to prevent the spread of slavery into the Territories. The Republicans at first believed that Douglas secured the enactment of this legislation to help make Kansas a slave State, and they were further convinced of this, when Douglas, in league with other Democrats, yielded without question to the Supreme Court decision of 1857 in the *Dred Scott Case*, which contradicted his theory of popular sovereignty and opened the way to extend slavery, not only into all Territories, but also into all free States as well. By clever reasoning, Douglas managed to maintain his adherence both to the Supreme Court and to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, but it is evident that his real sympathy always lay with the latter.

Though anti-slavery men had cordially hated Douglas, when

he first broached his theory of popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska legislation, they gradually came to think better of him, when they saw that this doctrine was playing into their hands; and, just before the senatorial campaign of 1858, many of them considered him as the best instrument to effect their purposes; because, when President Buchanan, in the spring of that year, had tried to force a slave constitution on Kansas with the fraudulent appearance of following the principle of popular sovereignty, Douglas bravely opposed the intrigue of the President, and, splitting with the administration, insisted upon giving his doctrine a fair trial.

No action could have been more heroic than this of Douglas. Yet the Republicans of Illinois were unwilling to entrust their cause to such a recent convert. They could not forget that he had said, he didn't care whether slavery was voted up or voted down in Kansas, and they could not forget that he had given full acquiescence to the Dred Scott decision.

They, therefore, determined to put into the field against Douglas in the campaign for the senatorship their own candidate; and, without a dissenting vote in the convention at Springfield, on June 17, 1858, they made Abraham Lincoln that candidate.

For some time, Lincoln had anticipated the nomination for this office; and, more carefully than was his wont, he prepared his speech of acceptance with the purpose of making unmistakably plain and vivid the issues that divided him from Douglas. A sentence and a phrase at a time, this speech was prepared on scraps of paper, that Lincoln put, one after another, into the capacious lining of his tall silk hat; and then, when the speech had been polished into final form, and thoroughly committed to memory, he tried it out before a few friends and leaders of the party, the night before the nomination. They shook their heads dubiously when he delivered the famous

paragraph containing the Biblical quotation that "a house divided against itself cannot stand"; but, to their objection, Lincoln replied that he would rather lose the senatorship with that phrase in the speech than win it without it.

The next day, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the State House, where the convention met, Lincoln delivered his address without manuscript and without notes, as he had prepared it. The effect upon the immediate audience was like a battle-call; and the next day Lincoln's words were carried to the ends of the nation, establishing clearly for all time the issues between the two great parties. As Chittenden says, in his compilation of Lincoln's speeches, "whether judged by its intrinsic qualities, or by its influence upon the fortunes of the Republic, this speech is one of the greatest of all political documents since the Declaration of Independence."

When Douglas received word in Washington of Lincoln's nomination, he said: "Now I shall have my hands full. Lincoln is the strong man of his party—full of wit, facts, dates, and . . . the best stump speaker in the West; he is as honest as he is shrewd." To meet this antagonist, therefore, Douglas, flushed with recent triumphs at the capital, hurried back to his constituents, as soon as Congress was adjourned, and at once began a speaking campaign that was to carry both him and his opponent throughout the State.

Douglas's first speech was delivered on the evening of July 9, from the balcony of the Tremont House, in Chicago, to a large crowd assembled in the street below. To this speech, Lincoln replied on the following evening in the same place. Douglas then moved down the State to Bloomington, and addressed an audience there on July 16, only to be followed by Lincoln in the same manner; and, as Douglas proceeded from there to Springfield, he found Lincoln still trailing him to answer immediately whatever he said in the campaign.

It was Lincoln's strategy to attract to himself part of the glamor that belonged to Douglas as a nationally famous statesman, and hence he boldly challenged Douglas to meet him thereafter in a series of joint debates to take place in the various congressional districts of the State.

With everything to lose and nothing to gain by such an arrangement, Douglas most magnanimously accepted the challenge, agreeing to seven debates: in Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton respectively; but not so magnanimously he took for himself four openings and closings, to Lincoln's three.

The setting for these debates, says Morse in his *Life of Lincoln*, had "the picturesqueness of the times and the region. The people gathered in vast multitudes, to the number of ten thousand, even of twenty thousand, at the places named for the speech-making; they came in their wagons from all the country round, bringing provisions, and making camps in the groves and fields. There were bonfires and music, parading and drinking. And he was a singular man in Illinois who was not present at some one of these encounters."

As the two candidates stepped forth upon the platform, there was of course a marked contrast in their appearance. There was Douglas, almost a dwarf, and Lincoln, a giant. Douglas was short, stalky, graceful, and polished; and Lincoln was tall, rangy, awkward, and uncouth. When Douglas began to speak, everyone was attracted by his deep, powerful, and musical voice; but, when Lincoln began, everyone noticed only his high-pitched, strident tones.

It would seem as if all the odds were in favor of Douglas; but, in one important respect, he was at a marked disadvantage. He was attempting to reconcile two irreconcilable points of view on the slavery question; and hence, his logic was clever but faulty, and his conclusions only superficial; while Lincoln

had but one great principle to make clear and enforce, with the aid of his matchless epigrammatic style and his never-failing, hard-hitting, keen-cutting logic, such as has seldom been equaled in any of America's greatest statesmen.

The debates began at Ottawa good-naturedly but with considerable condescension on the part of Douglas. They soon developed, however, into a contest of wits in which each speaker sought to entrap the other in a dilemma which would cost him the support of Northern, or Southern, sympathizers. Each sought by a series of questions to force the other into such a dilemma; but, clever to the extreme, as each debater appeared, history has awarded the palm in this contest to Lincoln for one question that he propounded to Douglas at Freeport. The question was this: "Can the people of a Territory, in any lawful way, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a State constitution?" If Douglas answered *yes* to this question, he would probably win the present contest, but lose the South in the presidential election of 1860, because he would show that he denied the doctrine set forth in the Dred Scott decision, which gave the South then its only hope for the extension of slavery; and if he answered *no*, he would lose forever all his following in the North, both then and thereafter, because he would thereby retract all his fair-sounding claims for popular sovereignty. Lincoln's friends begged him to retract this question, saying that Douglas would answer *yes*, and that answer would lose the senatorship for Lincoln, but Lincoln replied, "I am after larger game; if Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

Sure enough, Douglas did answer *yes*, and the debates continued with increased heat and ardor to the end, Lincoln keeping tantalizingly cool and persistent, while Douglas grew more and more irritable and petulant in his tactics.

All seven of the joint debates in this series were interspersed among nearly a hundred other speaking engagements for both the contestants; and when at last the canvass was finished, each speaker waited anxiously the result of the polls. This result showed a popular vote for the Republicans of 125,000, and for the Douglas-Democrats a vote of 121,000. On the face of the returns, it would seem that Lincoln had won, but the apportionment of representation in the State legislature was such, according to the census of 1850, that the Democrats retained there a majority of eight; and, hence, Douglas received the senatorship and was the immediate victor.

This was a bitter disappointment to Lincoln; but, in no sense, was the result of the debates to him an utter loss; for his vision of 1860 was correct. Douglas's answer to the Freeport question split the Democratic party into a Northern and a Southern wing and lost for Douglas the great goal of his ambitions. These same debates, that ruined Douglas, however, introduced Lincoln to the nation, and were the first sure stepping-stones in his phenomenal rise to the great office of the presidency, to which he, as well as Douglas, had aspired.

INTRODUCTORY SPEECHES TO THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

I. Abraham Lincoln: The "House Divided Against Itself" Speech

JUNE 17, 1858

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that

agitation not only has not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Have we no tendency to the latter condition? Let any one who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination-piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision.

Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a *State* to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up," shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow that

dynasty is the work before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper to us softly that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They wish us to *infer* all, from the fact that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point, upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a great man and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. "But a living dog is better than a dead lion."

Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one.

How can he oppose the advance of slavery? He does not care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it. A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas's superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave-trade. Does Douglas believe that an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new Territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave-trade? How can he refuse that trade in that "property" shall be "perfectly free," unless he does it as protection to the home production? And

as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser today than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But can we, for that reason run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he himself has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference? Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas's position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him. Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle, so that our cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle. But, clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be, he does not promise ever to be.

Our cause, then, must be entrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who *do care* for the result. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger. With every external circumstance against us, of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then, to falter now?—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent! The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we *shall not fail*. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it; but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come

II. Stephen A. Douglas: Reply to Lincoln at Chicago

JULY 9, 1858

Mr. Lincoln has made a speech before the Republican State Convention in which he states the basis upon which he proposes to carry on the campaign during this summer. He says that "*a house divided against itself cannot stand*,—that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free,—and that it will become all one thing or all the other."

In other words, Mr. Lincoln asserts as a fundamental principle of this government that there must be uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions of each and all the States of the Union; and he, therefore, invites all the non-slaveholding States to band together, organize as one body, and make war upon slavery in Kentucky, upon slavery in Virginia, upon the Carolinas, upon slavery in all of the slaveholding States in this Union, and to persevere in the war until slavery shall be exterminated. He then notifies the slaveholding States to stand together as a unit and make an aggressive war upon the free States of this Union with a view of establishing slavery in them all; of forcing it upon Illinois, of forcing it upon New York, upon New England, and upon every other free State, and that they shall keep up the warfare until slavery has been formally established in them all. In other words, Mr. Lincoln advocates boldly and clearly a war of sections, a war of the North against the South, of the free States against the slave States—a war of extermination—to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall either become free or become slave.

Now, my friends, I must say to you frankly, that I take bold, unqualified issue with him upon that principle. I assert

that it is neither desirable nor possible that there should be uniformity in the local institutions and domestic regulations of the different States of this Union. The framers of our government never contemplated uniformity in its internal concerns. The Fathers of the Revolution, and the sages who made the Constitution, well understood that the laws and domestic institutions which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be totally unfit for the rice plantations of South Carolina.

Uniformity in local and domestic affairs would be destructive of State rights, of State sovereignty, of personal liberty and personal freedom. Uniformity is the parent of despotism the world over, not only in politics, but in religion. Wherever the doctrine of uniformity is proclaimed, that all the States must be free, or all slave; that all labor must be white, or all black; that all the citizens of the different States must have the same privileges, or be governed by the same regulations; you have destroyed the greatest safeguard which our institutions have thrown around the rights of the citizen.

I do not acknowledge that the States must all be free, or must all be slave. I do not acknowledge that the negro must have civil and political rights everywhere or nowhere.

Mr. Lincoln goes for uniformity in our domestic institutions, for a war of sections, until one, or the other, shall be subdued. I go for the great principle of the *Kansas-Nebraska Bill*, the right of the people to decide for themselves.

I yield obedience to the decisions of the Supreme Court. Mr. Lincoln objects to a decision of that court because it does not put the negro in the possession of the rights of citizenship on an equality with the white man. I am opposed to negro equality. I repeat that this nation is a white people—a people composed of European descendants—a people that have estab-

lished this government for themselves and their posterity, and I am in favor of preserving not only the purity of the blood, but the purity of the government from any mixture or amalgamation with inferior races.

III. Abraham Lincoln: Reply to Douglas at Chicago

JULY 10, 1858

Judge Douglas says that I am in favor of making all the States of this Union uniform in all their internal regulations; that in all their domestic concerns I am in favor of making them entirely uniform. He says I am in favor of making war by the North upon the South, for the extinction of slavery; that I am also in favor of inviting the South to war upon the North for the purpose of nationalizing slavery.

Now, if you will carefully read the passage he refers to in my previous speech, you will find that I did not say that I was in favor of inviting the South to war upon the North for the purpose of nationalizing slavery.

Now, if you will carefully read the passage he refers to in my previous speech, you will find that I did not say that I was in favor of anything in it. I only said what I expected would take place. I made a prediction only. I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. I do say so now, however, so there need be no longer any difficulty about that. I know what I meant, and I will not leave this crowd in doubt, if I can explain it to them.

I am not unaware that this government has endured eighty-two years half slave and half free. I know that. I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of the country, and I know that it has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I *believe*—and that is what I meant to allude to there—I *be-*

lieve it *has* endured, because, during all that time, until the introduction of the *Nebraska Bill* by Judge Douglas, the public mind *did* rest, all the time, in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. That was what gave us the rest that we have had through that period of eighty-two years; at least, so I believe.

The great mass of the nation have rested in the belief that slavery *was* in course of ultimate extinction. And they had reason so to believe. The adoption of the Constitution and its attendant history *led* the people to believe so; and— that such was the belief of the framers of the Constitution itself— why did these old men, about the time of the adoption of the Constitution, decree that slavery should not go into the new Territory, where it had not already gone? Why declare that, within twenty years, the African slave-trade might be cut off by Congress? Why were all these acts? What were they but a clear indication that the framers of the Constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of that institution? And, now, when I say that I think the opponents of slavery will resist the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest with the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, I only mean to say, that they will place it where the founders of this government originally placed it.

In the course of Judge Douglas's speech last night, he reminded us that this government was made for white men—that he believed it was for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it; but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeited logic, which presumes that because I did not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My

understanding is that I need not have her for either, but, as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women; and, in God's name, let them be so married. The Judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of the races; that the inferior bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the Territories, they won't mix there.

We have the Judge giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying that the people of America are equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you, who are Germans, are not connected with it. Now, I ask you, in all soberness, if all these things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and endorsed, if taught to our children, and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this government into a government of some other form.

Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of king-craft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument, and this argument of the Judge is the same old serpent that says, you work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn it whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king, as an excuse for

enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of another race,—it is all the same old serpent; and I hold, that, if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro.

I should like to know, if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are created equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says, it does not mean *negro*, why not another say, it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it, and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it! If it is not true, let us tear it out! You cry "No! No!" Then let us stick to it. Then let us stand firmly by it.

My friend has said to me that I am a poor man to quote Scripture. I will try again, however. It is said in one of the admonitions of our Lord, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." The Savior, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven; but He said, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." He set that up as a standard, and he who does most toward reaching that standard, attains the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing to impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us then turn this government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it.

My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desired to do, and I have only this to say: let us discard all this

quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding our standard that we have left to us. Let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring all men are created equal.

My friends, I could not, without launching off upon some new topic, which would detain you too long, continue to-night. I thank you for this most extensive audience that you have furnished me to-night. I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

George William Curtis has spoken of Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address* as one of the three greatest triumphs of American oratory; and, in this group of three pre-eminently great orations, he places beside the *Gettysburg Address*, Patrick Henry's "electrical warning to George Third" at the time of the *Stamp Act* in 1765, and Wendell Phillips's speech *On the Murder of Lovejoy* in 1837. It will be noted that, in this grouping, he passes over Fisher Ames's great speech *On the Jay Treaty* in 1796, and Daniel Webster's world-renowned *Reply to Hayne* in 1830; but these omissions could not have been made inadvertently; and, hence, we have a statement on the highest authority that Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address* was one of the most sublime achievements in the history of the world's oratory.

This perfect gem of English prose, the *Gettysburg Address*, was given to posterity on the afternoon of November 19, 1863, in the presence of one hundred thousand eager listeners, at the dedication ceremonies for the National Cemetery at

Gettysburg, amid the newly-made graves of the thousands of fallen heroes who had given up their lives in the greatest battle of the Civil War.

This battle, marking, as it did, the turning point of the war, was fought on the first, second, and third days of the preceding July, a little more than four months before the great day of commemoration. In that tremendous battle, the Southern hosts, under command of General Robert E. Lee, had pushed far northward into the heart of Pennsylvania with a wide, encircling movement that threatened not only Washington, but Baltimore, Philadelphia, and even the metropolis of the North, New York City. Against their further advance, the splendid Army of the Potomac was massed under the command of General Meade. At Gettysburg, these two gigantic armies faced each other; and, on the morning of July First, they began their titanic struggle for the fate of the nation. For three whole days, amid unparalleled carnage, they strove for mastery with varying fortunes, the Union forces repelling assault after assault from their inner circle on the hills, until the ground was strewn with countless dead and dying. Never, it would seem, had there been such terrific slaughter; never such acts of unexampled heroism. Both sides left upwards of twenty thousand dead upon the field; and neither could have stood the havoc much longer than it was destined to continue. With the destruction of the very flower of the Confederate army in Pickett's last gallant charge to the breastworks of the Union forces, the Confederate hopes were dashed, and at last the slaughter ceased. The Southern armies, decimated and shattered, withdrew from the field of action, retreating under fire to the Old Dominion, and leaving a costly but splendid and ghastly victory to perch upon the banners of the Northern forces.

Hastily, the dead were buried where they lay upon the field,

but such interment was thought unworthy of these heroes; and, accordingly, a movement soon developed to set apart a certain portion of the field on Cemetery Ridge as a fitting resting place—a national cemetery to receive the bodies of the dead and to commemorate their deeds of sacrifice and valor.

To mark the dedication of this hallowed ground with appropriate ceremony, an invitation was sent to Edward Everett, then reputed to be America's most eloquent speaker, requesting him to be the orator-of-the-day; and several weeks later, in fact only seventeen days before the ceremonies, purely as an after-thought, President Lincoln was also invited to make "a few appropriate remarks."

So pressed was Lincoln by the manifold duties of his office that he had almost no time to prepare in any adequate way for this occasion. Yet, he saw in this ceremony a great opportunity for exhortation of his fellow-countrymen to persevere in the struggle, until the Union was saved; and, before leaving Washington by special train for Gettysburg, he succeeded in jotting down on a piece of White House stationery about one half of his proposed address. It was impossible for him to complete its composition until after his arrival in Gettysburg; and then, only in the quiet early morning hours of the day the address was delivered, was he able to write out its concluding sentences.

By ten o'clock in the morning, a formal procession including many notable persons and various military and civic organizations, moved through the streets to the cemetery where a speaker's platform was erected on the site of the present central monument. There the vast assemblage waited for more than half an hour before the orator-of-the-day appeared; and then, after a prayer of invocation and the reading of letters from General Meade and General Winfield Scott regretting

their inability to attend, the Honorable Edward Everett was introduced to deliver his tribute to the dead.

Never was an orator better fitted by native talent and early training, as well as by long experience in public life and in the world of letters, to perform this function. Much was expected of Everett, and his performance measured up to the highest expectations of his auditors. For a full hour, he fascinated the immense concourse of people by his classical eulogy of the dead, and by his most dramatic and most accurate narration of every detail of the battle that was being commemorated. At this point, he might very fittingly have closed his address, but the thoughts inspired by the occasion made such an ending quite impossible. Speaking on and on through a second full hour, he held his audience in rapt attention, while he traced out the causes for the war and fixed upon the South the blame for this fearful carnage, while he destroyed root and branch every effort to justify the act of secession and rebellion, and called upon the North to give up hope of conciliation now until the Federal armies had gone forward to the ultimate victory.

The truly great discourse of Mr. Everett was at last concluded in a brilliant peroration, the echoes of which merged in the long-continued and hearty applause of the multitude. A solemn dirge was rendered next by a choir of one hundred voices, and then it was Lincoln's turn to speak.

When he was introduced, there was the usual craning of necks and expressions of "Down in front!"—accompanied by crowding and pushing among those who then had their first opportunity to see the great President. For a time, Lincoln stood patiently waiting for his audience to become quiet; and then, when an absolute silence prevailed, he began to speak in the high shrill tones, to which his friends in Illinois had become accustomed, and which enabled him to make himself heard in the largest out-of-doors gatherings. He spoke with

the utmost deliberation, only once glancing at the manuscript he held in his left hand, and only once showing any sign of agitation, when his lips quivered and his voice broke during the utterance of the thought that "the world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

To those who saw Lincoln on this occasion, it appeared that he had stood before them not more than three or four minutes, and some were sure it was not more than two minutes. Scarcely had the people adjusted themselves to hear him, when it seemed that he had concluded his few remarks and had disappeared from view. Many of his auditors were dazed; few had been given time to grasp the full meaning of his thoughts; and nearly all were agreed that it was a pity he could not have made a real speech on such a great occasion.

There was no applause from the audience during the utterance of Lincoln's address, and only perfunctory applause at its conclusion. Hence, Lincoln felt that his performance had been a failure, as he had anticipated; and, if he could have heard remarks about it that were made by those on the platform, he would have been surer still that it was a failure. "It was not what I expected from him. I am disappointed," said Mr. Everett. "He has made a failure, and I am sorry for it. His speech is not equal to him," said Secretary Seward. And even Lincoln's close friend, Mr. Lamon, the Marshal of the District of Columbia, was compelled to say: "I am sorry that it does not impress me at all as one of his great speeches."

In bitter disappointment, Lincoln traveled back to Washington, feeling more and more certain, as the hours passed during the journey, that he had utterly failed to do justice to the occasion. Imagine his surprise, therefore, when on the following morning, he received a note from Mr. Everett saying: "I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near

to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

With the publication of this address in the daily newspapers throughout the country, people generally began to appreciate more and more its depth of meaning and its literary value; but even then, it must be said that America did not fully recognize its worth, until British critics in the *Saturday Review*, the *London Spectator*, and the *Edinburgh Review*, spoke of it as "an address without a parallel since the eulogy by Pericles on the heroic dead of the Peloponnesian War."

Gradually it dawned upon the American people that here, indeed, was a great masterpiece. Gradually they began to perceive that probably never in the whole course of history had there ever been an address of dedication "so pertinent, so brief, yet so comprehensive; so terse, yet so eloquent; linking the deeds of the present to the thoughts of the future, with words so simple, and in such living, original, yet exquisitely molded and maximlike phrases." Gradually, therefore, critics everywhere soon came to believe, and have continued to believe with one accord, that "out of a few, simple, plain, commonplace sentences familiar to all, President Lincoln at Gettysburg constructed an oration that will be the wonder and admiration of the world for all time—an oration that will rank as one of the great crowning triumphs of modern literary achievement."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

NOVEMBER 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that

nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate; we cannot consecrate; we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

The last great literary and oratorical triumph of Lincoln was his *Second Inaugural Address*, delivered at noon on March 4, 1865, from the east portico of the Capitol. This speech and his *Gettysburg Address* are ranked together by nearly every modern critic as "literary gems that will live as long as the language that he spoke or the nation that he served."

Written while the Civil War was still in progress, but when its end was clearly seen, this speech bears the mark of Lincoln's sadness for a nation sorely stricken, while yet it shows

the man of sorrow to be a man of iron, where wrong must be converted into right, and where the right must not be tainted with commingling with the wrong.

It is not known just when this great message, so much resembling in its nature the farewell admonition of Washington to his fellow-countrymen, was written by its author, but certain it is that three years before its utterance, Lincoln had come to believe that the war was a scourge placed by God upon the people of both North and South as a retribution for the sins of both, out of which at last the triumph of righteousness and justice was to come. Certain it is also that Lincoln had formulated some of the ideas for this address, when he met the peace commissioners of the Confederate States in February at Hampton Roads, and demanded of them two conditions of peace; namely, union and emancipation; and even more certain is it that he was preparing for this utterance when he forced through Congress, on the Third of March, the Thirteenth Amendment to perpetuate the blessings of emancipation for the negro race.

The most conspicuous preparation of the thought of this address came, however, during the three or four months preceding its delivery, when Lincoln, sure of the outcome of the war, grappled with the problem of reconstruction and formulated his own plan for readmitting the States that had joined in the rebellion. He knew that his policy of immediate readmission and total forgiveness for his erring brethren of the South, would meet with stout resistance from the "Invincibles" of Congress, who wished to treat the Southern States as "conquered provinces" or as "national territories"; but for the struggle that was to come, he was prepared, not merely to defend his policy, but also to coerce Congress, and, if need be, to become a martyr in the cause.

At no time in his career was his mind more settled, or his calm resolution more fixed to do what was right in the sight of God than it was on the morning of March 4, when, for the second time, he was to take the oath of office.

The day of his inauguration dawned in a most unpropitious way, with a cold, bleak rain that continued to fall upon the assembled thousands throughout the morning, until it seemed as if the ceremonies of induction must be performed indoors within the Senate-Chamber; but just at noon, the rain ceased, and it was decided, after all, to proceed with the ceremonies as usual on the east portico of the Capitol.

When Lincoln appeared to take the oath, a single burst of sunlight came through the clouds, and lighted up his features like a halo, it is said. So miraculous was this incident, so beautiful was it as an omen of the future, that Lincoln stood almost unnerved with his right hand raised to take the oath. The assembled thousands cheered him with long-continued, and thunderous applause, which he was able to silence only after he again raised his right hand to command attention. Then, with a full strong voice, that carried to the utmost limits of the throng, he delivered to his listeners that masterpiece, which his admirers have likened to the sublime eloquence of the great prophets of Israel and Judah, and to the matchless words of the Master in His *Sermon on the Mount*.

Of this address, Carl Schurz has said: "It poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. It had all the solemnity of a father's last admonition and blessing to his children before he lay down to die. . . No American President had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart."

Like the *Gettysburg Address*, however, the *Second Inaugural*

never was fully appreciated in America, until English critics had given it an immortal place in literature. When Gladstone read it, he said: "I am taken captive by so striking an utterance as this. I see in it the effect of sharp trial, when rightly borne, to raise man to a higher level of thought and action. It is by cruel suffering that nations are sometimes born to a better life. So it is with individual man. Lincoln's words show that upon him anxiety and sorrow have wrought their full effect."

The London *Spectator* joined with Gladstone in its praise, and said: "For ourselves, we cannot read his last inaugural address, delivered only five weeks before his assassination, without a renewed conviction that it is the noblest political document known to history, and should have, for the nation and the statesmen he left behind him, something of sacred and almost prophetic authority."

As English critics joined in the praise of this great speech, gradually America saw in it also the work of a master mind; and, now, throughout the world, it is recognized as one of the imperishable gems of literature, a great oratorical triumph, and more than that, a prophetic voice of admonition from out the past to guide the future conduct of the nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS
MARCH 4, 1865

Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still

absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came. One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease when, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any

men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

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COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXTS

On Lincoln's "*House Divided against Itself*" Speech

- I. What internal evidence is there that Lincoln was familiar with: (1) Webster's exordium in *Reply to Hayne*; (2) *Gospel of Mark*, 3:25; (3) *Ecclesiastes*, 9:4; (4) Webster's peroration in *Reply to Hayne*?
- II. What were: (1) the Dred Scott decision; (2) the present political dynasty; (3) the quarrel between Douglas and the head of the dynasty; (4) the single point on which Douglas had voted with the Republicans; (5) the strange, discordant elements that met to form the Republican party in 1856?
- III. What were the dates of: (1) the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; (2) Douglas's announcement of his "care-not" policy—See story of Lecompton Constitution; (3) the abolition of the African slave trade?

- IV. Was the threat to reopen the African slave trade a mere hoax?—See Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 614-619.
- V. What indirect reference is made to Horace Greeley?—See Johnston and Woodburn's *Am. Orations*, III, 380.

On Douglas's *Reply to Lincoln at Chicago*

- I. What evidence is there that Douglas was adept at the method of refutation: (1) by *reductio ad absurdum*; (2) by setting up straw men?
- II. Do you take exception to Douglas's statements: (1) that Lincoln said there must be uniformity in the local laws of all the States; (2) that the framers of the Constitution never contemplated any uniformity in the internal concerns of the States—See Lincoln's *Cooper Institute Speech*; (3) that uniformity in respect to some, but not all, internal concerns would destroy our greatest safeguards; (4) that Douglas yielded to the decisions of the Supreme Court?

On Lincoln's *Reply to Douglas at Chicago*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Lincoln was familiar with: (1) John Quincy Adams's speech on *The Right of Petition*; (2) *Gospel of Matthew*, 5:48?
- II. What evidence is there that Lincoln was familiar with the dilemma as a method of argument and the proper way of refuting it?
- III. In the first eighty-two years of the nation's history, what periods of rest from the slavery agitation did the people actually experience?
- IV. What effect had Eli Whitney upon the ultimate extinction of slavery by peaceable means?
- V. What remote hope for the ultimate extinction of slavery was there from the Republican doctrine of exclusion from the Territories?
- VI. What subtle appeal does Lincoln make to those who feared the Know Nothing element in the Republican party?

On Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*

- I. What was the exact date of the birth of the American nation?
- II. What clew have we that Jefferson may have put the same interpretation, that Lincoln did, on the expression, *all men are created equal*?—See Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence.
- III. When had Lincoln used previously practically the same thought as that with which he opened his address?—See Barton's *Lincoln*, II, 208.
- IV. What indirect reference does Lincoln make to the Emancipation Proclamation?
- V. What discouraging examples of failure of republican movements had occurred: (1) in Europe since the founding of the United States; (2) in Mexico in 1863?

- VI. Is there any evidence that Lincoln fully appreciated the significance of the battle of Gettysburg as we appreciate it?—See Barton, II, 226-228.
- VII. What pressing occasion had Lincoln to call upon the living to dedicate themselves to the great unfinished task remaining before them?—See Barton, II, 241-247.
- VIII. Where did Lincoln get the expression, *of the people, by the people, for the people*?—See Barton, II, 208-209.

On Lincoln's *Second Inaugural*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Lincoln was familiar with: (1) *Genesis*, 3:19; (2) *Matthew*, 7:1; (3) *Isaiah*, 14:27; (4) *Luke*, 17:1; (5) *Job*, 14:13-14; (6) *Psalms*, 10:0?
- II. In Lincoln's *First Inaugural*, what details of the course to be pursued did he announce?
- III. At the time of the *Second Inaugural*, what was the exact military situation?
- IV. At the time of the *First Inaugural* (1) what was the object sought by the Confederate commissioners in Washington; (2) what Confederate agents besides the commissioners were in Washington?—See Charnwood's *Lincoln*, 200-210, 230; (3) how far was Lincoln willing to go in offering to protect slavery in the original slave states?—See Elson's *Hist. of U. S.*, 640.
- V. How do Lincoln's words foreshadow his attitude toward the problems of reconstruction in contrast with the attitude of Congress?—See Elson's *Hist. of U. S.*, 780-700; Stephenson's *Lincoln*, 305-414.

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

From Lincoln:

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. accelerate 2. admonition 3. adventitious 4. aptest 5. arrest 6. astound
7. aught 8. combination piece 9. compounded 10. consecrate 11. consummation
12. crisis 13. dedicate 14. deprecate 15. dissevered 16. dynasty
17. endorsed 18. engross 19. fundamental 20. hallow 21. insurgent 22. intimation
23. launching 24. niche 25. pampered 26. particular 27. perpetuate
28. providence 29. quibbling 30. regale 31. unrequited 32. warranted
33. wholly.

From Douglas:

1. amalgamation 2. civil 3. contemplated 4. despotism 5. either 6. posterity
7. relentlessly 8. sages.

CHAPTER XV

HENRY WARD BEECHER

BEECHER'S PLACE AMONG LYCEUM AND PULPIT ORATORS

Henry Ward Beecher was one of the world's foremost pulpit orators of all times—a preacher, whose fame for eloquence has equaled that of Saint Chrysostom and Saint Bernard, Martin Luther and John Knox, George Whitefield and the two Wesleys in former times, and that of Charles Spurgeon and Phillips Brooks in his own time.

But Henry Ward Beecher was not merely a pulpit orator of great renown: he was also one of the foremost platform orators of America in the palmiest days of the Lyceum period, when men like John B. Gough, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, and Robert Ingersoll were holding vast audiences spell-bound by the magic of their eloquence.

Like Theodore Parker, his early contemporary, Henry Ward Beecher was both a preacher and a reformer, a man who believed most heartily in mixing religion with politics, and in making his pulpit a means for adjusting man's relation to man, as well as for adjusting his relation to God.

With this view of his functions as a preacher, Henry Ward Beecher became a powerful orator in the anti-slavery movement, in the movement to establish the Republican party, in the election of Lincoln, in the prosecution of the war against secession, in the settlement of the problems of reconstruction, in the movement to check political corruption after the war, and in various movements at various times to modernize the doctrines, and the practice of the church.

For fifty years, between 1837 and 1887, Henry Ward Beecher employed his powers as an orator to uplift and improve the condition of his fellow-men. Until 1847, however, he had merely a local reputation for eloquence. Then, suddenly, he burst upon the nation with meteoric brilliance as one of its greatest pulpit orators; and, sixteen years later, in the midst of the Civil War, he acquired world-wide fame for his platform eloquence, which he maintained with undiminished luster for a quarter of a century until his death.

The events in American history that provided Beecher with themes for his greatest eloquence were: the Clay Compromise Measures of 1850 with the *Fugitive Slave Law*; the *Kansas-Nebraska Bill* of 1854, with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the trial of popular sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska, with the consequent organization of Emigrant Aid Societies in the North and the development of civil war in Kansas; the formation of the Republican party and the campaign of Frémont for the presidency in 1856; the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859; the campaign for the election of Lincoln in 1860; the futile attempts to compromise with the South in the winter of 1860 and 1861; the attack upon Fort Sumter and the raising of Union armies in April, 1861; the capture of the Confederate emissaries, Mason and Slidell, on the English steamer *Trent*, in October, 1861; the blockade of the South, the hostility of England, and the building of Confederate cruisers in British ship-yards in 1862; the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863; the fall of the Confederacy, and the assassination of Lincoln in 1865; the struggle between President Johnson and Congress over reconstruction in 1866; the establishment and maintenance of carpet-bag governments in the South, the passage of civil-rights bills to protect negro freedmen, and the extension of amnesty to Confederate lead-

ers during the period of reconstruction; the religious upheaval over Darwinism and the German "higher criticism" of the Bible that occurred in the seventies; and the political upheaval represented by the Mugwump rebellion within the Republican party that developed in the presidential campaign of 1884.

In decade following decade, therefore, after 1850, Beecher spoke on themes that engaged the interest of America's greatest orators. In the decade of the fifties, he was prominent as an orator on the same themes that claimed attention from Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, from Seward, Sumner, Chase, Parker, Phillips, Douglas, and Lincoln. In the decade of the sixties, he was prominent while all the secession orators were active; while Wigfall, Benjamin, Davis, Yancey, Toombs, Iverson, Stephens, and Rhett were breaking up the Union; and while, on the Northern side, Lincoln, Baker, Phillips, Sumner, Wade, Thaddeus Stevens, and Henry Winter Davis were combating the rebellion. And in the decade of the seventies and early eighties, he was equally prominent while Carl Schurz and Lucius Q. C. Lamar were advocating clemency; while James G. Blaine and Benjamin H. Hill were struggling over the question of amnesty; while Robert Ingersoll was upholding Republicanism and denouncing orthodox Christianity; while George William Curtis was eloquently demanding civil service reform; and while Dwight L. Moody and Phillips Brooks were creating in their separate ways a new religious fervor among Christian believers.

The age in which Beecher lived was thus one of superabundant and brilliant eloquence. It was an age equal to any other, however great, in the history of the world's oratory and in it Beecher lived as a peer, if not as a superior, to all his renowned contemporaries.

For his tremendous influence on the platform, he will be

remembered with John B. Gough, the temperance lecturer, and Wendell Phillips, the anti-slavery agitator, as one of the great triumvirate of American Lyceum orators; and, for his acknowledged supremacy in the pulpit, he will be accorded a place, with Phillips Brooks, among the world's greatest pulpit orators of all times.

THE LIFE OF HENRY WARD BEECHER

Henry Ward Beecher was America's most eloquent pulpit orator, and one of her most popular and most influential platform speakers—a religious, political, and social reformer, whose spoken word created, moulded, and directed public opinion in crisis after crisis of the nation's history before, during, and after the Civil War.

Like Lyman Beecher, his father, he was the outspoken foe of the prevalent vices of his time,—intemperance, avarice, gambling, political chicanery, and financial double-dealing. Like Harriet Beecher Stowe, his sister, he was the mortal foe of slavery; and with Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Theodore Parker, he became one of the early leaders in the anti-slavery movement, though he differed from them greatly in his means for combating slavery and upheld, not Abolition, but Free-Soil, doctrines, such as were preached by Sumner, Chase, Seward, and Lincoln.

Throughout the Civil War, he was Lincoln's most staunch supporter; and, after that war, he still maintained Lincoln's theories of reconstruction,—for a time upholding the Republican organization as represented by Grant and Hayes, but finally asserting his independence, and rebelling against the corruption within the party that had for so long claimed his allegiance.

This powerful pulpit, and platform orator was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1813. He received his education in the famous Boston Latin School, at the Mount Pleasant Institute, and at Amherst College, from which he graduated in 1834. Then, following in the footsteps of his distinguished father, he, like all his six brothers, determined to enter the ministry; and under the tutelage of his father, who had recently become president of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio, he made his preparation for this profession.

At the same time, however, while living across the Ohio river from Kentucky, he had an opportunity to study the problems of slavery at first hand; for, during his seminary years, between 1834 and 1837, the great American anti-slavery agitation began. The sight of fugitive slaves escaping across the river was common. Frequent riots occurred in Cincinnati over the slave question. Discussion became hot in the Seminary; the Beecher home was threatened with mob violence; and the Seminary was split in two by the contending factions, with the result that many anti-slavery students and instructors broke away to found Oberlin College.

In all this agitation, the young man took a prominent part, being in fact a member of a volunteer constabulary to check riots in the city; so that probably his ministerial studies were neither over zealous nor thorough.

Beecher's first church was in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, during the pioneer days of that community; and his second in Indianapolis, when that city had scarcely five thousand inhabitants and was just emerging from the stumps of the clearing, where the settlement was established.

At Indianapolis Beecher made the following comment about his early preaching on the anti-slavery question: "Nobody there was allowed to say a word on the subject of slavery.

They were all red-hot out there then; and one of the Elders said, 'If an Abolitionist comes here, I will lead a mob to put him down.' I was a young preacher. I had some pluck; and I felt that was a subject that ought to be preached upon; but I knew that, just as sure as I preached an Abolition sermon, they would blow me up sky high, and my usefulness in that parish would be gone. Yet I was determined they should hear it, first or last. The question was, 'How shall I do it?' I recollect one of the earliest efforts I made in that direction was in a sermon on some general topic. It was necessary to illustrate a point, and I did it by picturing a father ransoming his son from captivity among the Algerines, and glorying in his love of liberty and his fight against bondage. They all thought I was going to apply it to slavery, but I did not. I applied it to my subject, and it passed off; and they all drew a long breath. It was not long before I had another illustration from that quarter. And so, before I had been there a year, I had gone over all the sore spots of slavery, in illustrating the subjects of Christian experience and doctrine."

In this way, Beecher converted his congregation from a strong pro-slavery group to a strong anti-slavery group; but there were other points on which he had to convert them also. Indianapolis at that time, like many other pioneer communities, was full of drunken debauchery and was infested with gamblers and confidence men. The general tone of the community was low and vicious; and, to combat such a condition, Beecher delivered, with great effect, in 1841, a still famous series of addresses, entitled *Lectures to Young Men*, in which he attacked boldly all the prevalent vices of his hearers. So outspoken, in fact, was he in these addresses, that one of the low characters of the town threatened to shoot him, but did not dare to carry out the threat.

After eight years of such preaching, Beecher reluctantly accepted a call from the newly organized Plymouth Church in Brooklyn; and there, in 1847, he began his labors, that continued until his death in 1887; when, by his eloquence, he had made Plymouth Church the most famous church in America, a Mecca for religious pilgrims from two continents, and a shrine of patriotism for all Americans, whose heart and soul had been poured into the struggle for freedom during the Civil War.

At first, Beecher's congregation numbered only a handful, but soon it increased under the influence of his novel preaching to embrace more than three thousand regular attendants upon his services. He was everywhere criticised for his failure to observe some of the older clerical conventions, and especially for his insistence upon giving a place to humor in his discourses; but, in spite of this criticism, or more likely on account of it, people flocked to hear him. His style, however, was not the only subject of adverse comment; for his subject matter also brought down upon him severe denunciation. Because he chose to lay little stress on dogma and gave all his efforts to promote upright living; because he never minced words; because he delivered terrible philippics against intemperance, avarice, and political abuses that prevailed about him; and, most of all, because he became the fearless and outspoken advocate of anti-slavery; he was roundly denounced and scheduled to be a martyr for his revolutionary beliefs. Yet the more he was denounced, the more popular he became, and his fame spread throughout the land as one of America's most powerful and heroic leaders in the cause of freedom.

At the time when Beecher began his preaching in Brooklyn, the slavery question was creating a great disturbance in national politics by reason of the recent introduction into

Congress of the Wilmot Proviso to exclude slavery from the territories acquired from Mexico. Every red-blooded man of the period, of course, had his convictions on the measure and expressed them as he chose. So had Beecher. But the general public and the clergy expected him to refrain, as a minister, from expressing them. For Beecher to remain silent on such a theme, however, was impossible; and to make clear his intentions in this regard, he notified his new congregation in his first evening sermon that he proposed to apply the principles of Jesus Christ to intemperance, to slavery, and to all other great national sins. What effect this announcement would have on his congregation, he cared not; but he felt that it was only fair to them to make known his plans.

During the second year of his Brooklyn pastorate, he inaugurated a system of combating slavery that was most unique. In his own pulpit he would receive fugitive slaves who were trying to make good their escape from Southern slave-catchers. In place of the regular services, he would impersonate a Southern slave-auctioneer, calling for bids on the human chattels he exhibited; and, from money showered down upon him by his parishioners in this dramatic setting, he would buy out of slavery these fugitives, who had come to him for aid.

This was but the prelude, however, to his great anti-slavery agitation. His most effective work in this cause began in 1850, when he denounced the Clay Compromise Measures and anticipated William H. Seward in announcing the "higher law" doctrine, which placed God's law, as expressed by the individual conscience, above the Constitution. In respect to the *Fugitive Slave Law*, he recommended: "Obedience to laws, even though they sin against me: but disobedience to every law that commands me to sin."

For four years, he was content to fight slavery by denouncing it in the pulpit and by defeating the objects of the slave-catchers. But, thereafter, he made his opposition more direct and more forceful. In 1854 another great crisis in the slavery agitation was reached. In that year, Douglas proposed to abolish the Missouri Compromise to give effect to his principle of popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska legislation; and Beecher said of this proposal that it was "the death struggle of slavery for expansion, seeing that she must have more room to breathe or suffocate. All question as to whether slavery shall be agitated is now at an end. The South says it shall be agitated, and she cannot help it. The mask is off, and all disguises are thrown to the winds, and the slave power stands out in its true character, making its last and most infamous demands upon the North. All we have to do is to say, No."

But the North did not say, No. The bill was passed. Popular sovereignty was given its trial. Emigrant Aid Societies were established, with Beecher's backing, to rush Free-Soil settlers into Kansas. Civil strife began in that Territory. And Beecher, at first reluctant to encourage violence, at last organized every effort to send to Free-Soil settlers in Kansas what became known as "Beecher's Bibles," which were in reality consignments of rifles shipped as "books."

Beecher, therefore, did aid and abet the Free-Soil fighters in the civil war of Kansas, at the time when Charles Sumner was struck down in the Senate, when the pro-slavery forces sacked the town of Lawrence, and when John Brown was engaged in the Pottawattomie Massacre; but this was to prevent the extension of slavery—not to suppress it by violence in the old slave States—and when, later, John Brown made his raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, Beecher unreservedly condemned

the undertaking in these words: "By all the conscience of a man, and by all the faith of a Christian, and by all the zeal and warmth of a philanthropist, I protest against any counsels that lead to insurrection, servile war, and bloodshed. It is bad for the master, and bad for the slave, bad for all that are neighbors to them, bad for the whole land,—bad from beginning to end."

In this way, Beecher condemned the misguided fanaticism of Brown and his followers; and yet, in upholding the right to free speech, when Wendell Phillips was denied the use of all other platforms in New York to talk on John Brown, Beecher extended to him the use of his pulpit, and heard him deliver that famous address on *Harper's Ferry*, in which he proclaimed the lesson of the hour to be insurrection.

Beecher was an anti-slavery man, but one like Lincoln and Seward, rather than like Phillips and Garrison. He was one of the first prominent campaign speakers for the Republican party in 1856; and at that time he went up and down, throughout the North, to address audiences of eight or ten thousand in the open air advocating the election of Frémont.

For such work, he was bitterly denounced and told that he "should stick to his pulpit"; but, in spite of abuse, he kept to his task, and repeated his exertions for the Republican cause again in 1860. Then it was, that his opponents said: "His pulpit has been turned into a political engine to overthrow the institutions of the Southern States, to dissolve the Union, and to foment civil war." They said he was a man who dared "to attack, not those sinners who hear him, but those who are a thousand miles away." He was advised pointedly that "a trip to Europe, just then, would prove beneficial to his health," and that "his ease and comfort would be anything but safe in this country six months from then."

Such threats could not frighten him, and neither could disorderly bands of ruffians, who hurled stones through his church windows during the evening services. No public speaker did more in the winter months following Lincoln's election to combat the various plans for compromising principle to keep the South in the Union; and, then, when the great Civil War did actually break out, Beecher hailed it as a God-given opportunity to bring about emancipation. He converted his church into a supply base for the relief of Union armies passing to and from the battlefields. From his own congregation, he raised and equipped two regiments; and, from his own purse, he equipped still another. His two sons he sent into the service, glorying in the sacrifice he was making; and every Sunday morning he preached sermons that resounded like trumpet calls of freedom throughout the whole Union.

From the very outset, he was a close friend and personal adviser of Abraham Lincoln, having entertained him in his own house when Lincoln came to New York to deliver his *Cooper Institute Address* in 1860; but gradually he came to think that Lincoln was too slow and too deliberate in approaching the question of emancipation. Several of his sermons, therefore, in 1862, were rather harsh and severe in their criticism of the administration for its procrastination. At last, however, word was received that, by a military order, the President had emancipated the slaves of those who were fighting in the Confederate armies. The joy with which Beecher received this news was almost inexpressible; and, from Plymouth pulpit, he announced, in a tremendous burst of jubilation, that "the President's proclamation will sift the North, give unity to its people, simplicity to its policy, liberty to its army! . . . The Proclamation emancipates slaves in thrice thirty days. But it emancipates the Government and

the army to-day . . . God may peel me, and bark me, and strip me of my leaves, and do as he chooses with my earthly estate. I have lived long enough; I have had a good time. You cannot take back the blows I have given the Devil right in the face. I have uttered some words that will not die, because they are incorporated in the lives of men that will not die."

In the summer of 1863, Beecher was worn out by his efforts in behalf of the Union; and, accordingly, his church gave him three months' leave of absence in Europe to recuperate. He intended to make no speeches while in England; and, as a result of the hostility manifested there against the North by the upper classes, he became more determined than ever not to speak. In a towering rage against Great Britain, he departed for the continent, and there obtained much-needed rest while traveling. On his return journey, he was persuaded, however, that it was his duty to make plain to the masses the justice of the Union cause, and thereby to prevent further coöperation by the British government with the enemies of the Union in the South.

He, therefore, prepared a series of lectures to be delivered in all the principal cities of England and Scotland, and started out to convert the people to sympathize with the North rather than with the South. Everywhere, he was compelled to face the most turbulent and riotous audiences, who many times threatened his life if he attempted to speak; but in Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and London, he beat down the mobs by his reasoning and his eloquence, though frequently he had to out-roar the lion to be heard, while again and again he had to wait for a lull in the storm to puncture the cat-calls and hisses of his opponents with his pungent reasoning and appeals for fair play.

This series of addresses gave Beecher an international repu-

tation as an orator, and one of his admiring critics has said that they, not only constituted "the greatest oratorical work of Mr. Beecher's life," but that they were without a parallel in their public effect since the time of Demosthenes, when the great Greek thundered in Athens against the on-coming tyranny of Philip of Macedon.

On Beecher's return to his native land, he was hailed as a conqueror by the American public. Though previously he had acquired a tremendous reputation as a popular orator on the Lyceum platform, his engagements now became so numerous that he had to refuse hundreds of opportunities to speak even when his audiences were glad to pay him his five-hundred-dollar fee for one night's lecturing.

Until the close of the war, Beecher continued to give his hearty support to Lincoln's administration; and, thereafter, he became most conspicuous in discussing problems of reconstruction. In 1868, in 1872, and in 1876, he was one of the most powerful campaign speakers for the Republican party, but in 1884 he demonstrated his independence by advocating strongly the election of Cleveland as a Democrat. In these latter years, he was also most active in trying to harmonize the new discoveries of science with the cardinal principles of the old religion. Every year, his reputation as an orator spread further and further, until, at last, when he died, in 1887, it could be said that people of every State but one in the Union, and of every community of any importance in the British Isles had been thrilled by his eloquence.

To mention all the famous speeches, sermons, and addresses delivered by Henry Ward Beecher would be impossible; yet it may not be invidious to say that, among his greatest utterances, were: his *Lectures to Young Men* in 1841; his *Address to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* in 1851; his

lecture on *Robert Burns* in 1859; his addresses on *The National Flag* and *The Camp: Its Dangers and Duties* in 1861; his *Liverpool Address* in 1863; his *Address at the Fort Sumter Flag-Raising* and his *Memorial Sermon for Lincoln* in 1865; his *Yale Lectures on Preaching* in 1872; his eight sermons on *Evolution and Religion* in 1878 and 1879; and his *Eulogy of Grant* in 1885.

By such utterances, Beecher won distinction as one of the world's great orators. According to one critic, his place was "near that of Demosthenes." As a reformer, this critic says that "he need fear no comparison with Wendell Phillips, John Bright, Mazzini, or Charles Sumner. In moral genius for statesmanship, he was the brother of Abraham Lincoln, and in the annals of the pulpit he can only be mentioned with the greatest names—those of Chrysostom, Bernard, Luther, Wesley, Whitefield, Chalmers, and Spurgeon."

Great as an anti-slavery agitator, great as a social and religious reformer, Henry Ward Beecher will be remembered, nevertheless, chiefly for his splendid services in behalf of the Union during the darkest days of the Civil War; for, in that period, it is said of him that "outside the army, and outside the government, no Northern man did more than he to support and to advance the Northern cause."

HISTORICAL SETTING OF BEECHER'S LIVERPOOL ADDRESS

The addresses given by Henry Ward Beecher in England, in the fall of 1863, during one of the most critical periods in the Civil War, are justly regarded as a series of marvelous triumphs that have hardly been surpassed in the history of the world's oratory. Beginning with his speech at Manchester on October 9, Beecher was everywhere confronted with riotous

mobs for his audiences: in Glasgow, on October 13; in Edinburgh, on October 14; in Liverpool, on October 16; and in London, on October 20. In no single instance was the mob more tumultuous, and on no occasion was Beecher more heroically triumphant than when he battled for three hours to secure a hearing in Philharmonic Hall at Liverpool before an enraged audience of thugs and ruffians who had made up their minds to break up the meeting and place the speaker in jeopardy of life and limb.

When Beecher came to Liverpool, he found that the sympathy of the mob was utterly against him. They had not forgotten the insult to the British flag, when, two years before, a Northern commander, Captain Wilkes, had removed from the British steamer, *Trent*, the Confederate emissaries, Mason and Slidell; and they could not forget the *Morrill Tariff*, that was ruining their export trade of cotton fabrics, or the Northern blockade of Southern ports, that was cutting off the supply of raw cotton from their factories. Everywhere about them, they saw their ships lying at the wharves, and their factory workers reduced to destitution by the shutting-down of the textile mills. They were, therefore, ready to throw their influence in favor of the South, and were anxious that their ship-yards should build privateers for the Confederacy, in order that English labor might be given employment, while it aided in breaking down the blockade of Southern ports.

The task of Beecher, then, was to convince these people on the verge of starvation, that they should go ahead and starve, in order that the North, their competitor in trade, might continue a seemingly endless and hopeless war, and in order that the abstract principle of freedom for the slave, in a far-off foreign land, might at last be made an accomplished fact.

As Beecher stepped from the train at Liverpool, he noticed

that all the streets were placarded with blood-red posters announcing that he was coming and calling upon Englishmen to suppress his right of free speech. These posters had evidently accomplished their purpose; for, at the appointed time of meeting, Philharmonic Hall was thronged to its utmost capacity, with a mob described by one witness as consisting of "chokers, hustlers, and burglars with their jimmies in their pockets; of fighting robbers with brass knuckles—the whole set in a vast thief-constituency, as thick as rats in sewers." "These were the disputants," said this witness, "whom the emissaries of the slave-power called upon to refute the arguments of the Brooklyn clergyman."

Though Beecher did not know it at the time, he learned later that, both before and after his entrance into the hall, his life was seriously threatened; for there were Southern sympathizers in the boxes and galleries who had come armed, and who were kept quiet only by a few friends of the North who stood over them with bowie-knives and pistols.

In such an atmosphere, Beecher stepped to the front of the platform on which were gathered many of the Congregational clergymen of England and Wales; and there, attempting to speak, he was greeted with such prolonged groans, cheers, and cat-calls that he found it impossible for some time to get beyond his first utterance of "Ladies and Gentlemen."

For more than an hour and a half, Beecher struggled merely to be heard; and he said later that, sometimes during that period, he "felt like a shipmaster attempting to preach on board of a ship, through a speaking trumpet, with a tornado on the sea, and mutiny among the men."

One writer on this great event in the history of oratory has said that "Mr. Beecher spoke at Liverpool with all the incidents of a battlefield, with charges and counter-charges, in-

cessant shouting, and constant interruptions on the one side, while the orator's business was to fire his pistol-shots of sentences in every lull. Occasionally there would be a rifle-shot with all his vocal power, and once in a while there came a cannon-shot with a long reverberating roar."

In spite of Beecher's utmost efforts to cajole or sting his audience into attention, at times he was utterly drowned out by the uproar; and, on one such occasion, he calmly seated himself on the parapet of the platform and told the reporters that he was sorry to detain them so long; while, on another occasion, he said, if the meeting would not hear him, he would address his remarks to the newspaper correspondents before him. Then, later, he attempted to read something from Lincoln, and such a hubbub arose that he calmly went on talking to the reporters, and the mob, becoming curious, stopped to hear.

Every conceivable device, Beecher used to conquer his audience, but the one that, after all, was most effective was his appeal to the Englishman's love of fair play. This came after the first hour and a half of the unequal struggle; and then either the leathern throats of the mob were sore, or many had yielded in admiration of the speaker's pluck. At least, the speaker was permitted to go on with less constant interruption to the end of his three hours of speaking.

There was some doubt even then whether he had carried the meeting with his reasoning, and the test was to come on the matter of extending to him a vote of thanks. To assist in bringing about such a conclusion, the chairman suggested that "he expected the vote would be joined in by all the representatives of American slaveholders present, from the fact that they had had more instruction that night than they had apparently received during all the previous part of their lives."

This remark was greeted with every conceivable expression of approval and disapproval; but, when the vote was taken, it was carried with long and loud cheering.

The mob had been conquered, and Henry Ward Beecher, by this great feat, had been lifted from the position of one of America's foremost pulpit orators to the higher level of one of the world's most eloquent speakers of all times, whose name and deeds might bear comparison even with those of the great Greek who thundered in Athens against Philip of Macedon.

HENRY WARD BEECHER: THE LIVERPOOL ADDRESS

OCTOBER 16, 1863

For more than twenty-five years I have been made perfectly familiar with popular assemblies in all parts of my country except the extreme South. There has not, for the whole of that time, been a single day of my life when it would have been safe for me to go south of Mason and Dixon's line in my own country, and all for one reason: my solemn, earnest, persistent testimony against that which I consider to be the most atrocious thing under the sun—the system of African slavery in a great free republic. I have passed through that early period when right of free speech was denied to me. Again and again I have attempted to address audiences that, for no other crime than that of free speech, visited me with all manner of contumelious epithets; and, now, since I have been in England, although I have met with greater kindness and courtesy on the part of most than I deserved, yet, on the other hand, I perceive that the Southern influence prevails to some extent in England. It is my old acquaintance; I understand it perfectly, and I have always held it to be an unfailing truth that, where a man had a cause that would bear examination, he was perfectly willing to have it spoken about. And

when in Manchester I saw those huge placards: "Who is Henry Ward Beecher?"—and when in Liverpool I was told that there were those blood-red placards, purporting to say what Henry Ward Beecher had said, and calling upon Englishmen to suppress free speech—I tell you what I thought. I thought simply this: "I am glad of it." Why? Because, if they had felt perfectly secure, that *you* are the minions of the South and the slaves of slavery, they would have been perfectly still. And, therefore, when I saw so much nervous apprehension that, if I were permitted to speak—when I found they were afraid to have me speak—when I found that they considered my speaking damaging to their cause—when I found that they appealed from facts and reasonings to mob law—I said, no man need tell me what the heart and secret counsel of these men are. They tremble and are afraid.

Now, personally, it is a matter of very little consequence to me whether I speak here to-night or not. But one thing is very certain, if you do permit me to speak here to-night, you will hear very plain talking. You will not find a man—you will not find me to be a man that dared to speak about Great Britain 3,000 miles off, and then is afraid to speak to Great Britain when he stands on her shores. And if I do not mistake the tone and temper of Englishmen, they had rather have a man who opposes them in a manly way than a sneak that agrees with them in an unmanly way. Now, if I can carry you with me by sound convictions, I shall be immensely glad; but if I cannot carry you with me by facts and sound arguments, I do not wish you to go with me at all; and all that I ask is simply FAIR PLAY.

What will be the result if this present struggle shall eventuate in the separation of America, and making the South a slave territory exclusively and the North a free territory—what will

be the final result? You will lay the foundation for carrying the slave population clear through to the Pacific Ocean. This is the first step. There is not a man that has been a leader of the South at any time within these twenty years, that has not had this for a plan. It was for this that Texas was invaded, first by colonists, next by marauders, until it was wrested from Mexico. It was for this that they engaged in the Mexican War itself, by which the vast territory reaching to the Pacific was added to the Union. Never for a moment have they given up the plan of spreading the American institutions, as they call them, straight through toward the West, until the slave, who has washed his feet in the Atlantic, shall be carried to wash them in the Pacific. There! I have got that statement out, and you cannot put it back.

Now, let us consider the prospect. If the South becomes a slave empire, what relation will it have to you as a customer? It would be an empire of twelve millions of people. Now, of these, eight million are white, and four million black. Consider that one third of the whole are the miserably poor, unbuying blacks. You do not manufacture much for them. You have not got machinery coarse enough. Your labor is too skilled by far to manufacture bagging and linsey-woolsey. One other third consists of a poor, unskilled, degraded white, population; and the remaining one third, which is a large allowance, we will say, intelligent and rich.

Now here are twelve millions of people, and only one third of them are customers that can afford to buy the kind of goods that you bring to market. —My friends, I saw a man once, who was a little late at a railway station, chase an express train. He did not catch it. If you are going to stop this meeting, you have got to stop it before I speak; for after I have got things out, you may chase as long as you please;

you would not catch them. —But there is luck in leisure; I'm going to take it easy. —Two thirds of the population of the Southern States to-day are non-purchasers of English goods.

Now you must recollect another fact—namely, that this is going on, clear through to the Pacific Ocean; and if, by sympathy you help establish a slave empire, you *sagacious* Britons—if you like it better then, I will take the adjective out—are busy in favoring the establishment of an empire from ocean to ocean that should have the fewest customers and the largest non-buying population.

Now what can England make for the poor white population? What carpets, what linens, what cottons can you sell them? What machines, what looking-glasses, what combs, what leather, what books, what pictures, what engravings? —You may sell ships to a few, but what ships can you sell to two-thirds of the population of poor whites and blacks? A little bagging and a little linsey-woolsey, a few whips and manacles, are all that you can sell for the slave. This very day, in the slave States of America, there are eight millions out of twelve millions that are not, and cannot be, your customers from the very laws of trade.

But I know that you say, you cannot help sympathizing with a gallant people. They are the weaker people, the minority; and you cannot help going with the minority who are struggling for their rights against the majority. Nothing could be more generous, when a weak party stands for its own legitimate rights against imperious pride and power, than to sympathize with the weak. But whoever sympathized with a weak thief, because three constables had got hold of him? And yet the one thief in three policemen's hands is the weaker party. I suppose you would sympathize with him. Why, when that infamous king of Naples—Bomba, was driven into Gaeta

by Garibaldi with his immortal band of patriots, and Cavour sent against him the army of Northern Italy, who was the weaker party then? The tyrant and his minions; and the majority was with the noble Italian patriots, struggling for liberty. I never heard that Old England sent deputations to King Bomba, and yet his troops resisted bravely there. To-day, the majority of the people of Rome is with Italy. Nothing but French bayonets keeps her from going back to the kingdom of Italy, to which she belongs. Do you sympathize with the majority in Rome or the majority in Italy? To-day, the South is the minority in America, and they are fighting for *independence*! For what? I could wish so much bravery had a better cause, and that so much self-denial had been less deluded; that the poisonous and venomous doctrine of State rights might have been kept aloof; that so many gallant spirits, such as Jackson, might still have lived.

The force of these facts, historical and incontrovertible, cannot be broken, except by diverting attention by an attack upon the North. It is said that the North is fighting for Union, and not for emancipation. The North is fighting for Union, for that ensures emancipation. A great many men say to ministers of the Gospel: "You pretend to be preaching and working for the love of the people. Why, you are all the time preaching for the sake of the Church." What does the minister say? "It is by means of the Church that we help the people," and when men say that we are fighting for the Union, I too say we are fighting for the Union. But the motive determines the value; and why are we fighting for the Union? Because we shall never forget the testimony of our enemies. They have gone off declaring that the Union in the hands of the North was fatal to slavery. There is testimony in court for you.

No man can unveil the future; no man can tell what revolu-

tions are about to break upon the world; no man can tell what destiny belongs to France, nor to any of the European powers; but one thing is certain, that in the exigencies of the future there will be combinations and recombinations, and that those nations that are of the same faith, the same blood, and the same substantial interests, ought not to be alienated from each other, but ought to stand together. I do not say that you ought not to be in the most friendly alliance with France or with Germany; but I do say that your own children, the offspring of England, ought to be nearer to you than any people of strange tongue.

If there have been any feelings of bitterness in America, let me tell you that they have been excited, rightly or wrongly under the impression that Great Britain was going to intervene between us and our own lawful struggle. With the evidence that there is no such intention, all bitter feelings will pass away. We do not agree with the recent doctrine of neutrality as a question of law. But it is past, and we are not disposed to raise that question. We accept it now as a fact, and we say that the utterance of Lord Russell at Blairgowrie, together with the declaration of the government in stopping war-steamers here, has gone far toward quieting every fear and removing every apprehension from our minds.

And now in the future it is the work of every good man and patriot not to create divisions, but to do the things that will make for peace. On our part, it shall be done. On your part, it ought to be done; and when in any of the convulsions that come upon the world, Great Britain finds herself struggling single-handed against the gigantic powers that spread oppression and darkness, there ought to be such cordiality that she can turn and say to her first-born and most illustrious child, "Come!" I will not say that England cannot again, as hitherto,

single-handed manage any power, but I will say that England and America together for religion and liberty are a match for the world.

Now, gentlemen and ladies, when I came, I was asked whether I would answer questions, and I very readily consented to do so, as I had in other places; but, I will tell you, it was because I expected to have the opportunity of speaking with some sort of ease and quiet. I have for an hour and a half spoken against a storm, and you yourselves are witnesses that, by the interruption, I have been obliged to strive with my voice, so that I no longer have the power to control this assembly. And although I am in spirit perfectly willing to answer any question, and more than glad of the chance, yet I am, by this very unnecessary opposition to-night, incapacitated physically from doing it. Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you good-evening.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF BEECHER'S MEMORIAL SERMON
ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

One of the grandest themes for one of the grandest sermons ever delivered by Henry Ward Beecher from his pulpit in Plymouth Church was provided by the tragic assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, a day forever memorable in American history, as a day that combined the uttermost of joy and the uttermost of sorrow; for, on that day, the nation celebrated the fourth anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter with thanksgiving at the prospect of an early peace; yet, on that day, the nation was robbed of its most heroic leader since Washington, the saintly Lincoln, who had led his people, like Moses, patiently and manfully, through four horrible years of bloody strife for an ideal that then, and only then, was about to be achieved.

On that day, the President had been wearied with his many arduous duties in receiving official callers and in attending the session of his cabinet. He, therefore, sought the relaxation and diversion of the theater, attending, that evening, with a small party, the performance at Ford's Theater. He was late in arriving, and the play had begun when his party entered the President's box; but, immediately, the acting ceased, and the audience rose for a moment to cheer him. No other unusual incident occurred until ten in the evening, when suddenly the audience was startled by the report of a pistol, and by the sight of a man, booted and spurred, leaping from the President's box to the stage, and there, for a moment, standing with a dagger in his hand and shouting "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*." That man was the actor, John Wilkes Booth. He had fired the shot that had startled the audience. He had, through a desire for insane revenge, killed the one man who would have been the South's best friend. He had snuffed out in an instant the hope of the nation. Then, pausing to enjoy a momentary triumph, though his leg was broken in the fall to the stage, he managed to escape down the back-stairs, to leap upon a horse, and to gallop away in the darkness.

Such was the story of Lincoln's assassination—enhanced by the news of a simultaneous attack by assassins on Secretary Seward—as it came to the ears of Henry Ward Beecher; while in Charleston, South Carolina, he was absent from his pulpit, during one of the most momentous occasions of his long and eventful career.

Early in the spring of 1865, it became evident to all, that the Confederate cause was doomed. Sherman had made his famous march to the sea and was proceeding northward to join Grant, who was hammering his way toward Richmond and the final surrender of Lee at Appomattox. The city of

Charleston, South Carolina, had fallen, and it was the plan of Stanton, Secretary-of-War, to raise the American flag with fitting ceremonies over Fort Sumter on April 14, the fourth anniversary of the day when it had been hauled down at the beginning of the war.

Beecher was chosen to be the orator of the occasion; and, when the ship that bore him, with a numerous company, came into Charleston harbor, he first received from another ship the news of Lee's surrender, that had taken place on April 9. "The wild outcry," he said, "the strange caprices, and exultations of that moment, those who were present will never forget. We were far off from the scene of war; we saw no signs nor tokens; it was as if the heavens had imparted it to us; but, Oh! what gladness, what ecstasy there was in that news no one can know but those who had suffered as we had suffered."

On the 14th, Major-General Anderson raised over the broken walls of Sumter the same flag that had flown there four years before; and, then, after the roar of many military salutes from batteries all around, in the presence of a most distinguished gathering, augmented by three thousand emancipated slaves who were brought from the city, Beecher delivered an oration that was like no other address he ever gave. On the leaders of the Confederacy, he poured out all the vials of his wrath; yet, for the Southern people, he had only words of love and brotherhood; and, to President Lincoln, he offered solemn congratulations "that God had sustained his life under unparalleled burdens, and had permitted him to see that consummation for which he had toiled with such unselfish wisdom."

This greeting to the President, however, was doomed never to reach his ears; for, on the evening of that very day, he was

struck down by the bullet of an assassin. For three days Beecher was in total ignorance of what had happened; and then, while visiting points of interest about Charleston, he and his party received the tragic news. Such a shock as it produced can hardly be imagined. "The blow," said Beecher, "brought not a sharp pang. It was so terrible that at first it stunned sensibility. Citizens were like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake, and bewildered to find everything that they were accustomed to trust wavering and falling. They wandered in the streets as if groping after some impending dread, or undeveloped sorrow, or some one to tell them what ailed them. They met each other as if each would ask, 'Am I awake, or do I dream?' There was a piteous helplessness, and strong men bowed down and wept."

On that day, it seemed as if the brightest noontide had been converted into the blackest midnight darkness, and in the midst of the silence that followed the terrible news, Beecher said to his comrades: "It is time all good men were at home."

While Lincoln's funeral cortège was proceeding through all the principal cities of the East and North on the way to the martyr's final resting-place in Springfield, Illinois, Beecher went into his own pulpit at Plymouth Church on Sunday, April 23, and there delivered his sublime tribute to the dead.

What more eloquent words could he have spoken than when he said to his sorrowing congregation: "Four years ago, oh Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man and from among the people; we return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the Nation's; not ours, but the World's. Give him place, oh ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred altar to myriads who shall make pilgrimage to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds, that move over

the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty."

Among the many thousands of funeral sermons that were preached throughout the land in love and veneration for the martyred President, there was none that was more sincere, more simple, more touching, or more grand than this discourse of Beecher's, which seemed to come straight from his great bleeding heart, that throbbed for the nation in its universal and overwhelming grief.

HENRY WARD BEECHER: MEMORIAL SERMON ON ABRAHAM
LINCOLN—APRIL 23, 1865

There is no historic figure more noble than that of Moses, the Jewish law-giver. There is scarcely another event in history more touching than his death. He had borne the great burdens of state for forty years, shaped the Jews to a nation, filled out their civil and religious polity, administered their laws, guided their steps, or dwelt with them in all their journeyings in the wilderness; had mourned in their punishment, kept step with their march, and led them in wars, until the end of their labors drew nigh. The last stage was reached. Jordan only lay between them and the promised land.

From that silent summit, the hoary leader gazed to the north, to the south, to the west, with hungry eyes. The dim outlines rose up. The hazy recesses spoke of quiet valleys between the hills. With eager longing, with sad resignation, he looked upon the promised land. It was now to him a forbidden land. It was a moment's anguish. He forgot all his personal wants, and drank in the vision of his people's home. His work was done. There lay God's promise fulfilled.

Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle, and war, and come near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over. Who shall recount our martyr's sufferings for this people? Since the November of 1860, his horizon has been black with storms. By day and by night he trod a way of danger and darkness. On his shoulders rested a government dearer to him than his own life. At its integrity millions of men were striking at home. Upon this government foreign eyes lowered. It stood like a lone island in a sea full of storms; and every tide and wave seemed eager to devour it. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows and anxieties have rested, but not on one such, and in such measure, as upon that simple, truthful, noble soul, our faithful and sainted Lincoln. He wrestled ceaselessly, through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sin of his people as by fire.

At last the watcher beheld the gray dawn for the country. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out the darkness; and the East came rushing toward us with arms full of joy for all our sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly, that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such trust, such gratitude. But he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land. Then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us. Not thine the sorrow, but ours, sainted soul.

Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere, as the joy and the sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. In one hour it lay without a pulse, without a gleam, or breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land as huge storms sweep through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the

sky, dishevelled the flowers, daunting every singer in thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and up the mountains. Did ever so many hearts, in so brief a time, touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy; it was the uttermost of sorrow—noon and midnight, without a space between.

The blow brought not a sharp pang. It was so terrible that at first it stunned sensibility. Citizens were like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake, and bewildered to find everything that they were accustomed to trust wavering and falling. The very earth was no longer solid. The first feeling was the least. Men waited to get straight to feel. They wandered in the streets as if groping after some impending dread, or undeveloped sorrow, or some one to tell them what ailed them. They met each other as if each would ask the other, "Am I awake or do I dream?" There was a piteous helplessness. Strong men bowed down and wept. Other and common griefs belonged to some one in chief: this belonged to all. It was each and every man's. Every virtuous household in the land felt as if its first-born were gone. Rear to his name monuments, found charitable institutions, and write his name above their lintels; but no monument will ever equal the universal, spontaneous, and sublime sorrow that in a moment swept down lines and parties, and covered up animosities, and in an hour brought a divided people into unity of grief and indivisible fellowship of anguish.

And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall-bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, dead, dead, he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Is any man that ever was fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen in the unobstructed

sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, oh people, are his peace! Your bells, and bands, and muffled drums, sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on!

Four years ago, oh Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among the people. We return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the Nation's; not ours, but the World's. Give him place, oh ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty places of the West, chant requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty!

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Beecher, Henry Ward—See biographies by Lyman Abbott, Beecher and Scoville, Barrows, and Hibben; also biographical sketch by Howard in *Patriotic Addresses*.

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For Beecher and Brooks as pulpit orators, see Brastow's *Representative Modern Preachers* (1904); and Davis's *Principles of Preaching* (1924).

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COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXT

On Beecher's *Liverpool Address*

- I. What was the Mason and Dixon Line?
- II. Who were: (1) Bomba; (2) Garibaldi; (3) Cavour; (4) Lord Russell?
- III. When and where did "Stonewall" Jackson meet his death?
- IV. What indirect reference is made: (1) to Bismarck; (2) to the *Alabama*?
- V. What evidence is there that Great Britain intended to intervene in America?—See Elson, 664-667.
- VI. What internal evidence is there that Beecher disagreed with Webster's theory about slavery in New Mexico as given in the *Seventh of March Speech*?—See Johnston and Woodburn's *Am. Orations*, II, 178-182—and was there any ground for such disagreement?—See Lodge's *Webster*.
- VII. What evidence is there that Beecher was familiar with the method of refutation by *reductio ad absurdum*?
- VIII. How were the issues of the Civil War confused by the doctrine of State rights?—See Stephenson's *Lincoln*, 150-153, 187; Elson's *Hist. of U. S.* 713-715.

On Beecher's Memorial Sermon on Abraham Lincoln

- I. Why does Beecher call Moses the Jewish law-giver?—See two decalogues, in *Exodus*, 34:14-26, *Exodus*, 20:3-17, *Deuteronomy*, 5:7-21.
- II. What does Beecher mean when he says Moses filled out the civil polity of the Jews?—See *Exodus*, 18:13-26.
- III. What does Beecher mean when he says that Moses filled out the religious polity of the Jews?—See *Exodus*, 40:1-38.
- IV. What were the wars in which Moses led the Jewish people?—See *Deuteronomy*, 2:26-37; 3:1-11.
- V. What was the name of the mountain from which Moses looked over into the promised land?—and how much could Moses see from that mountain?—See *Deuteronomy*, 32:40; 34:1-3; also Bailey and Kent's *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*, 47-58.
- VI. How old was Moses when he died?—See *Deuteronomy*, 31:2; 34:7.
- VII. What made Beecher think that Moses looked upon the promised land with hungry eyes and eager longing?—See *Deuteronomy*, 3:23-27.
- VIII. What internal evidence is there that Beecher makes a composite picture of Lincoln's trials from the story of Jacob blended with that of Moses? See *Genesis*, 32: 24, 26, 30.
- IX. What is the full significance of the expression that *cities and States are his pall-bearers, and that the cannon beats the hours of solemn progression*?—See Barton's *Lincoln*, II, 356-366.
- X. What internal evidence is there that Beecher was familiar with: (1) Everett's *Eulogy of Adams and Jefferson*; (2) *Book of Hebrews*, 11:4?
- XI. What specific proof is there: (1) that Washington still lives; (2) that Hampden still lives; (3) that David still lives?
- XII. What oratorical device for stirring the emotions does Beecher borrow from Shakespeare's Mark Antony?—See *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene II.

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM HENRY WARD BEECHER

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. again 2. apprehension 3. atrocious 4. bagging 5. catch 6. certain
7. constable 8. contumelious 9. courtesy 10. diverting 11. emancipation
12. epithets 13. eventuate 14. imperious 15. incontrovertible 16. leisure
17. linsey-woolsey 18. manacles 19. marauders 20. minions 21. purporting
22. sagacious 23. temper 24. tone 25. visited 26. wrested

1. across 2. articulate 3. daunt 4. dishevel 5. hoary 6. integrity 7. lintels
8. lowered 9. myriads 10. orbs 11. purgatorial 12. recesses 13. requiem
14. polity

CHAPTER XVI

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

INGERSOLL'S PLACE AMONG POLITICAL AND PLATFORM ORATORS

Robert G. Ingersoll was one of America's foremost political and platform orators for three decades, from 1876, when he made his famous "Plumed Knight" speech nominating Blaine for the presidency, down to 1896, when he took to the stump for the last time to oppose William J. Bryan in his presidential campaign on the free-silver issue.

These three decades were characterized by terrific biennial and quadrennial political battles between the Republican and Democratic parties; first, on the issue of enforcing against the South the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment in regard to negro suffrage; then, on the question of civil service reform to break down the spoils system; and finally, on the question of providing cheap money to give relief to the agricultural West and South against the capitalistic North and East.

Strangely enough, however, the oratory of Ingersoll and of other Republican campaign orators throughout this period found its inspiration chiefly in events that occurred during the Civil War and in the decade of reconstruction that followed this great conflict.

In every respect, Ingersoll was a typical representative of the campaign orators of the so-called "Grand Old Party," who, during this period, "waved the bloody shirt," according to the phrascology of the day, to remind the Northern voters of the necessity for maintaining a solid North against the solid South, in order that the fruits of the war might not be lost.

In other respects, however, Ingersoll was unique among all American orators; for he was not merely a political partisan: he was also a great religious controversialist, an iconoclast with respect to all the traditional beliefs and practices of the church, and an outspoken opponent of orthodox Christian theology.

Ingersoll lived in that period of American history when religion and science first came into bitter conflict over the theory of evolution as propounded by Charles Darwin. This theory was set forth by Darwin in 1859, when he published his *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*; and soon it created throughout the scientific, philosophical, and religious world, a tremendous upheaval in consequence of the approval given it by such intellectual leaders as Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley.

For this new thought, Ingersoll was a ready disciple because of his acquired prejudices against Calvinistic theology and in consequence of his association with liberal thinkers who admired the theology of Theodore Parker. He did not become a conspicuous protagonist of evolution, however, until after 1869, when Huxley gave to the world the term *agnostic*, which seemed to define exactly the position that Ingersoll should take on theological questions.

Throughout the decade of the seventies, when great fortunes were being amassed, when munificent donations were being made to found educational institutions, and when the question was being pressed whether these institutions of learning should permit instruction or research on the theory of evolution, Ingersoll threw himself violently into the fray, denouncing all opposition to free thought, upholding the teachings of science, and attacking fearlessly all the old doctrines of orthodox theology.

In so doing, he tells us that he was an apostle of Columbus, Magellan, Galileo, Copernicus, Kepler, Descartes, Newton, Laplace, Locke, Hume, Bacon, Shakespeare, Kant, Leibnitz, Goethe, Fulton, Watts, Volta, Galvani, Franklin, Morse, Humboldt, Crompton, Arkwright, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Darwin, Haeckel, Büchner, Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley, Draper, Lecky, and Buckle.

All the older theology, he threw aside, and declared simply that he believed "happiness to be the only good, reason the only torch, justice the only worship, humanity the only religion, and love the only priest."

Such iconoclastic doctrines could not be preached, however, without arousing tremendous opposition. All the orthodox preachers condemned him. Henry Ward Beecher alone seemed mildly friendly to him; and he showed his sympathy, not by condoning Ingersoll's attacks on Christianity, but by trying rather to reconcile science and the old religion. Other great preachers, like Phillips Brooks, referred to him as a "blatant infidel"; and Dwight L. Moody started out to combat his heresies by a widespread revival movement to maintain, or re-establish, the old faith.

Strange it was that a man so universally condemned by the overwhelming mass of conservative thinkers should have risen to any prominence, or should have wielded any influence whatsoever in the field of politics, where conformity to general ideals is usually a necessity. But in the case of Ingersoll, his unparalleled eloquence broke down all barriers of religious prejudice that were raised against him. He could not be elected to any high political office; but he was requisitioned, nevertheless, on all occasions, to use his golden eloquence to support the aspirations of others for these high places.

Ingersoll became an orator of national prominence in the

campaign of 1876, when he felt an urgent necessity to inform the people of the glorious services of the Republican party from the date of its origin, and to warn the people of the dangers threatening the Republic if the Democratic party—the party of the old Southern slaveholders—was given control of the government.

To understand the political oratory of Ingersoll, therefore, it is essential that we understand the events of the Civil War period and the period of reconstruction as he viewed them and as they were regarded by his political opponents.

From the year 1854 to the year 1861, Ingersoll was a Douglas-Democrat; but, after the firing upon Fort Sumter, he became one of the staunchest of life-long Republicans. He saw active service in the Union army; was captured and paroled; but, failing to be exchanged, secured an honorable dismissal in 1863, just in time to see and appreciate the nefarious work of disloyal Northern Democrats, who organized under such names as "Sons of Liberty," "Knights of the Golden Circle," and "Order of the Star," to impede the operation of the Federal draft law, to release Confederate prisoners from Northern military prisons, to conduct raids from the Canadian border, to defeat the re-election of Lincoln, and in every way to break down the Northern morale.

Ingersoll, therefore, hated the Southern Democrats, because they had been slaveholders, secessionists, and enemies in arms; but he hated the Northern Democrats even more, because they sympathized with slavery, approved secession, and aided and abetted the rebellion.

He could never forget his old war-hatred. He suspected the South of intending to reinstate slavery when local self-government was restored, and hence he thoroughly approved the carpet-bag regime, supported by Federal bayonets until the

negroes were prepared to maintain their civil rights. He also approved the long delay in extending amnesty to the old Confederate leaders; and he violently opposed all efforts to postpone indefinitely the payment of the bonded indebtedness of the Federal government incurred in support of the Northern cause, as well as all efforts to provide a cheap currency through bi-metalism, which would favor the South and West, and defraud the North and East.

As Ingersoll upheld the old cause of the North, however, which was represented by the Republican party, he found that he was compelled to defend a political machine that was honey-combed with corruption. He found that he was compelled again and again to meet the onslaughts of the Southern, and the Northern, Democrats, and of the Liberal Republican faction, which wanted to restore brotherly love between the sections, rid the government of its corruption, establish civil service reform, and aid the agricultural communities by breaking down the high protective tariff.

While Ingersoll was establishing a splendid reputation as a Republican campaign orator, he was surrounded by a great coterie of famous "Old Guard" spokesmen, such as James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, Oliver P. Morton, James A. Garfield, Chauncey Depew, and Horace Porter. At the same time, he was confronted, across the barrier between North and South, by powerful Southern Democrats whose eloquence reached its greatest heights in Lucius Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, and in Benjamin H. Hill and Henry W. Grady of Georgia, who later were superseded by the silver-tongued orator of the West, William J. Bryan.

But Ingersoll and his associates were compelled to meet not only the opposition of Democrats as campaign orators: they were also compelled to meet the opposition of insurgent Re-

publicans,—sometimes called the Liberal Republicans,—and, in the campaign of 1884, called the Mugwumps,—such as Carl Schurz, George William Curtis, and Henry Ward Beecher.

Among all these orators, Ingersoll was acknowledged to have no superior. As a religious controversialist, he had no equal; and, though diametrically opposed to pulpit orators like Moody and Phillips Brooks, and differing widely from Henry Ward Beecher, he will always be regarded as one of the great leaders of the religious agitation of the last half of the nineteenth century. As a convention orator, he will be placed side by side with, and perhaps above, his great contemporaries, Roscoe Conkling, James A. Garfield, and William Jennings Bryan. As a commemorative orator at reunions of the Grand Army of the Republic, he stands beside, or above, Horace Porter, the associate of Grant; and he will be compared on equal terms with Henry W. Grady of the South, who most gloriously depicted the sufferings of Southern veterans. And finally, as a Lyceum platform orator, he can be compared only with his most famous rival, Henry Ward Beecher.

Always moving in the company of great orators, Robert G. Ingersoll acquired no little distinction, therefore, when he won the reputation of being one of America's foremost political and platform speakers during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Robert G. Ingersoll, the Great Agnostic, and so-called atheist and infidel, was the best hated and most beloved popular orator of his times for three decades following the Civil War; and he has been designated by no less an authority than Henry Ward Beecher as "the most brilliant speaker of the English tongue of all men upon this globe." Not only as a

platform orator on the Lyceum circuit, but also as a political orator, stump speaker, and jury-pleader, this much maligned man rose to distinction such as no other man enjoyed—an iconoclast to the very end, yet a bewitching master of rhetoric, a prose-poet in the field of oratory whose equal had not been known since the time of Hugh Brackenridge¹ of Revolutionary fame, and for whom there has been no parallel in later days except in the instance of Henry W. Grady, the most beloved of modern orators from the South.

The son of a Congregational minister, Robert G. Ingersoll was born at Dresden, New York, in 1833. He was but three years old when he lost the guiding influence of his mother, whom he always remembered tenderly as she lay cold and beautiful and serene in her coffin. To his father, Robert was always a problem because of his boyish spirits, which the harsh disciplinarian sought to subdue by many thrashings. If Robert walked out of a church service, because the preacher waxed too eloquent in describing the tortures of Hell, then he was thrashed; and, if, with less justification, he cut the bell-rope of the church, or smoked out a prayer-meeting by putting a board over the top of the church chimney, then he was also thrashed.

It was said to have been these periodic thrashings that led him early to turn against the type of religion that his father preached; but another circumstance also contributed to this end. In several respects, his father was more liberal than his fellow-ministers, and more liberal than the people of his congregations, though, in no sense, could he be accused of throwing off any of the fundamental doctrines of Calvinism; but, for the trifling ideas of liberalism that he expressed, he was continually being asked to move on from one parish to another.

¹ See Moore's *American Eloquence*.

As a result of such experiences, Robert gradually caught fire with a deep sense of injustice done by the church to his father; and, in his boyish mind, there seethed up a hot rebellion against what he considered to be a persistent and relentless religious persecution.

Almost never was his father able to retain a parish for more than two years; and, hence, Robert's boyhood and youth were spent in many different towns in a wide range of States including New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois. At eighteen years of age, Robert had become a district school teacher in Illinois; and, three years later, in 1854, with his elder brother Ebon, he hung out his shingle as a lawyer in Shawneetown, a small trading community of Illinois. Three years of successful practice here were followed by his removal up the Illinois river to Peoria, where, almost instantly, he won a brilliant reputation as a lawyer and political stump-speaker.

Ingersoll was only twenty-seven years of age, and had been a resident of Peoria for only three years, when he was selected as the Democratic candidate for Congress from the Peoria district. This occurred in the year 1860, when Illinois was stirred to its depths by the great struggle between its two sons, Lincoln and Douglas, for the presidency. Ingersoll was a Douglas-Democrat; and, throughout his district, which was strongly Republican, he put up a splendid fight against gigantic odds, only to go down in defeat with his party after enhancing his reputation as an orator by his independent course in condemning slavery and the *Fugitive Slave Law*, while he upheld Douglas's theory of popular sovereignty as the only means of keeping slavery out of the Territories.

The speeches that Ingersoll delivered in this campaign were the last that he ever made as a stump-speaker for the Democratic party. As soon as Fort Sumter was fired upon in the following spring, Ingersoll renounced his affiliation with the

Democrats and henceforth was a Republican, more prominent perhaps than any other single speaker for that party throughout three decades.

As Clark E. Carr says in his story of *The Illini*, "no man can estimate the power and influence of Ingersoll in arousing the American people to a sense of their solemn responsibilities when the war came upon them, or in awakening them to a sense of justice and a proper appreciation of the rights of men. One must have heard him before a great audience in the open air, as we in Illinois so often did, to appreciate his great power. Every emotion of his soul, every pulsation of his heart, was for his country and for liberty; and no other man has ever been able, in so high a degree, to inspire others with the sentiments that animated him. No just history of Illinois can be written without placing high upon the scroll of fame the name of Robert G. Ingersoll."

An energetic spirit such as his could not be idle while others were offering their lives for patriotism; and, accordingly, in 1861, he organized a regiment of cavalry, of which he became the colonel, to see service at the front. He took part in two important battles; and, then, while engaged in scouting, he was captured by a force of Confederate cavalry under General N. B. Forrest at Lexington, Tennessee. He was soon paroled; but, after waiting impatiently for six months to be exchanged, he despaired of entering again into active service, and, therefore, resigned to take up the practice of law.

From 1867 to 1869, he was Attorney-General of Illinois; and, in 1868, he refused the proffered nomination of the Republican party for the governorship of his State, because he could not comply with the request of party leaders to recant his views in opposition to the conventional beliefs of orthodox Christians.

Ever since his marriage, in 1858, to Eva Parker, a distant

relative and ardent disciple of Theodore Parker, he had become more and more an outspoken controversialist on religious matters; and, in the early seventies, he began his long-continued assaults on what he termed superstition, by lectures given throughout the country for the highest fees paid by Lyceum managements, on such anti-theological subjects as *The Gods; Individuality; Heretics and Heresies; The Ghosts; Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child; What We Must Do to be Saved; Some Mistakes of Moses; Some Reasons Why; Orthodoxy; and Myth and Miracle*; which alternated with other lectures on *Humboldt, Thomas Paine, and Shakespeare*.

Ingersoll could hardly be regarded as a national figure, however, until he gave his famous *Plumed Knight Speech* before the Republican National Convention, at Cincinnati, Ohio, in the year 1876, when he nominated James G. Blaine for the presidency. By this one speech, he was elevated to the position of being one of the nation's greatest political orators.

Henceforth, Ingersoll was in demand everywhere as an advocate before the bar, as a platform lecturer, as a stump-speaker, and as a commemorative orator at reunions of the Grand Army of the Republic.

He soon removed to Washington, and thence to New York, where he became conspicuous as an orator at the bar in his defense of the famous *Star Route* conspirators, charged with defrauding the Federal government on mail contracts of some millions of dollars. This case dragged its weary length through the courts from 1878 to 1883.

Though almost constantly in the public eye as an orator, Ingersoll will be remembered chiefly for four great speeches; namely, his *Speech Nominating Blaine* in 1876; his platform lecture on *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child* in 1877; his funeral address *At His Brother's Grave* in 1879; and his *Decoration Day Oration* in 1888.

In these speeches, he proved himself to be an almost incomparable master of the English tongue, capable of touching the deepest emotions to which the human heart is susceptible. Even his enemies were thrilled by his overpowering personality, his wit, his pathos, his imagination, his courage, his love and tenderness, and, through it all, his ever recurring hope for better things.

No man, however much he hated Ingersoll for his attacks upon Christianity, could fail to relent in that hatred by reading, or hearing, his sublime utterance, unexcelled in the realms of eloquence, or in the realms of literature, contained in his address, *At His Brother's Grave*.

When at last, after thirty years of storming the ancient citadels of Christianity, this Great Agnostic himself had faced the grim Reaper at the age of sixty-six, it was but fitting that, at his burial service, there should be read his own words taken from the funeral discourse for his brother, long since gone:

"From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word; but in the night of death hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing.

"He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his last breath, 'I am better now.' Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead."

We may not care to go as far as some of Ingersoll's disciples; but, at least, we cannot fail to feel the pulse of admiration when we read such praise as this bestowed by one of them upon him.—He was, says this admirer, "the greatest genius of the western world, an immense personality—unique, lovable, sublime; a master orator of the English tongue—a peerless artist of the noblest art—and as true a poet as Nature ever held in tender clasp upon her loving breast. In words

coined for the chosen few, he told of the joys and sorrows, hopes, dreams, and fears of universal life—a philanthropist more generous than the tropic clime—of self as thoughtless in the face of want as night is lavish with the dew. And withal a great reformer—perfectly poised, absolutely honest, and as fearless as right itself—the most aggressive and most formidable enemy of all superstition. Such a man was that most hated, and most loved, of modern American orators, the Great Agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll.”

HISTORICAL SETTING OF INGERSOLL'S NOMINATION OF BLAINE

The speech by Robert G. Ingersoll nominating Blaine for the presidency in the Republican National Convention, at Cincinnati, on June 15, 1876, is universally recognized as the most eloquent speech of its kind ever heard in America. Two other nominating speeches of about the same period are sometimes compared with it: namely, the speech of Roscoe Conkling in 1880 nominating Grant for a third term, and the speech by James A. Garfield in the same year nominating John Sherman of Ohio; but neither of these speeches can measure up to the dazzling beauty and overpowering grandeur of Ingersoll's mighty effort at Cincinnati in behalf of the candidacy of James G. Blaine.

This speech was delivered as the prelude to one of the most bitter contests ever waged for the Republican nomination; for, in that year, the Republican party faced one of the great crises of its history, on account of recent scandals in Grant's second administration, and on account of the constantly growing Democratic vote that had captured the lower House of Congress in the last election.

With President Grant definitely out of the race, it was

necessary for the party to make a wise choice from a large field of ambitious candidates, the most conspicuous of whom were James G. Blaine, former Speaker of the House, and now minority leader of the Republicans on the floor; Roscoe Conkling of New York, and O. P. Morton of Indiana, both Senators and favorites of the administration; Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, the reform candidate, who, as Grant's Secretary-of-the-Treasury had prosecuted the gigantic "whiskey frauds"; and Rutherford B. Hayes, a "dark horse" who had recently been elected on a sound-money platform as governor of Ohio.

Among all these candidates, Blaine appeared at first to be the most likely choice of the convention; for he had almost as many delegates pledged to him as had all the others combined, and he had the prestige of being the most eminent Republican leader in Congress during the last eight years, but, in spite of these advantages, he had several almost fatal weaknesses. He had incurred the undying hostility of Senator Conkling's faction in consequence of a personal feud existing since 1866, when he had called Conkling "a turkey-gobbler strut"; he had alienated the sympathy of Liberal Republicans by reawakening, in a recent virulent speech against extending amnesty to Jefferson Davis, all the fierce sectional hatred of the Civil War period; and he was not wholly free from suspicion of corruption in connection with financial scandals arising from the building of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. To bolster up his prospects, however, he had back of him in Congress a most dramatic, recent vindication of his integrity; and, by his early campaign tactics, he had placed solidly behind him the great bulk of the old-soldier vote.

Against Blaine, all the other candidates were willing to combine, but no one of them seemed to have any large following on the eve of the convention, except Benjamin H. Bristow,

who, being from Kentucky and having served in the Union army, was considered as most likely to capture both the Southern and the Northern vote, while his recent prosecution of government frauds was thought sufficient to hold the vote of all reformers.

Thus, when nominations were first called for, it was a case of Blaine against the field, and the most prominent of his opponents was Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky.

On the second day of the convention, Richard H. Dana, representing the State of Massachusetts, rose to second the nomination of Bristow, and in a stirring speech said: "I tell you, gentlemen of the convention, I know of no other name which is sure to carry the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts next November. . . . Massachusetts is satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow."

As Dana sat down, Robert G. Ingersoll, then unknown to the country-at-large, came forward from the rear of the hall to present on behalf of Illinois the name of James G. Blaine. "Massachusetts," he said, "may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. So am I. But if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by 75,000 majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill their old monument of glory."

With this first statement, Ingersoll had turned the tables upon Bristow and had called forth tumultuous applause for himself and his unannounced candidate. Then proceeding to enumerate in detail, and with the most fascinating and poetic word-pictures, the qualifications demanded by the Republicans

for their candidate, he at last placed in nomination that man "whose political reputation was as spotless as a star,"—that man, "who had torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander, and had snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion"—that man, who, "like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen foreheads of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor."

"In the name of the great Republic, in the name of all her soldiers living and dead, in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutches of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers, Illinois nominates for the next President," said Ingersoll, "that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders,—James G. Blaine."

The burst of applause that followed this eloquent appeal was said never to have been equaled up to this time in the history of political conventions. If the balloting could have followed immediately, all historians agree that the choice would have fallen to Blaine; but, as it was, other nomination speeches followed; and, at 5:15 in the afternoon, to prevent the choice of a candidate while the spell of Ingersoll's oratory was fresh, the convention adjourned to the next day.

Even then it appeared that Blaine had 285 votes as against 124 for his nearest competitor on the first ballot. Seven ballots in all were taken, with a gradual drift to Hayes, as a "dark horse," and at last the vote stood Hayes 384, Blaine 351, and Bristow 21.

Though Hayes received the nomination, this fact, in no way, belittles the achievement of Ingersoll as a convention orator. The day before, he had set the convention into a perfect blaze by his transcendent eloquence. Up to this time,

he had been unknown to the country at large, but overnight he had acquired undying fame as the most brilliant political orator of his day and generation. From the vivid word-painting of Ingersoll on this occasion, James G. Blaine was henceforth to be called the "Plumed Knight" in American politics; but as Elson, the historian, has said, the eloquence of Ingersoll made him, Ingersoll, "scarcely less famous than the one for whom he spoke."

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL: NOMINATION OF BLAINE

JUNE 15, 1876

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. So am I. But if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinion. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest and broadest sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs—with the wants of the people—with not only the requirements of the hour but with the demands of the future.

They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth.

They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government.

They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people. One who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar. One who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor. One who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together. When they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindle and the turning wheel; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political meeting.

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full-heaped and

rounded measure all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of her past—prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican host led by that intrepid man there can be no such thing as defeat.

This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—a man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion—a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who, up to the present moment, is a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen foreheads of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor.

For the Republican party to desert a gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer

of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers, Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF INGERSOLL'S LECTURE, ON LIBERTY OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the great early leaders in the cause of woman suffrage, once said, while speaking of Robert Ingersoll, that she had "heard the greatest orators of the nineteenth century in England and America; O'Connell in his palmiest days on the Home Rule question; Gladstone and John Bright in the House of Commons; Spurgeon, James, and Stopford Brooke, in their respective pulpits; our own Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and Webster and Clay, on great occasions; the stirring eloquence of our anti-slavery orators, both in Congress and on the platform, but none of them ever equaled Robert Ingersoll in his highest flights."

Now if we inquire what prompted this outburst of extravagant praise, we find our answer in the fact that Mrs. Stanton heard Ingersoll the first time he delivered his famous lecture

on *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child*, as he gave it before a wildly enthusiastic audience in Chicago in the year 1877.

This lecture is justly regarded as his first really great utterance on the lecture platform, arising directly from his own bitter experiences in the pursuit of personal liberty, and heralding the long period of twenty years when he was to be recognized as the most popular of American lecturers, who, according to one of his biographers, received more money for his platform eloquence than any twenty of America's other great lecturers combined, including even Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and John B. Gough.

The theme of this discourse was that every man and every woman should make "an individual declaration of independence"; that mankind everywhere should free itself from intellectual servitude to the past; that man should be freed from persecution for his religious beliefs; that woman should be assigned a place of complete equality with man; that the child should be dealt with through reason; and that love, not fame, nor riches, nor power, should be the guide of all human conduct and the goal of all human happiness.

These were the thoughts with which Ingersoll shocked and charmed his listeners in the lecture on *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child*; but only a reading of the lecture itself will reveal how completely they reflected his own revolt at the way in which he had been reared; how completely he had overturned the old philosophy of woman's inferiority in his own delightful companionships at home with wife and children; how he himself had been persecuted; how his highest ambitions for fame and honor in the political field had been blasted on account of his religious views; how he sympathized with all past martyrs accused of heresy; how he had determined to follow and proclaim the views of "Tom" Paine and Voltaire,

of Benjamin Franklin, Copernicus, Humboldt, and Darwin; and how, despite persecution, he would voice for others what they dared not voice for themselves.

"I have made up my mind," said he in this lecture, "to say my say. I shall do it kindly, distinctly; but I am going to do it. I know there are thousands of men who substantially agree with me, but who are not in a condition to express their thoughts. They are poor; they are in business; and they know that, should they tell their honest thought, persons will refuse to patronize them—to trade with them; they wish to get bread for their little children; they wish to take care of their wives; they wish to have homes and the comforts of life. Every such person is a certificate of the meanness of the community in which he resides. And yet I do not blame these people for not expressing their thought. I say to them: 'Keep your ideas to yourselves; feed and clothe the ones you love. I will do your talking for you. The church cannot touch, cannot crush, cannot starve, cannot stop or stay me; I will express my thoughts.'"

And, accordingly, with the utmost vigor, the utmost boldness, and even the utmost audacity, he did express his thoughts to shocked and delighted audiences throughout the country. But, perhaps, nowhere did he achieve a greater triumph than in Chicago on his first appearance with this lecture, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton has described in this wise:

"I heard Mr. Ingersoll," she said, "many years ago in Chicago. The hall seated five thousand people; every inch of standing room was also occupied; aisles and platform were crowded to overflowing. He held that vast audience for three hours so completely entranced that, when he left the platform, no one moved, until suddenly, with loud cheers and applause, they recalled him. He returned smiling, and said: 'I'm glad

you called me back, as I have something more to say. Can you stand another half-hour?' 'Yes, an hour, two hours, all night,' was shouted from various parts of the house; and he talked on until midnight, with unabated vigor, to the delight of his audience. This was the greatest triumph of oratory I have ever witnessed, and it was the first time he delivered his matchless lecture, *The Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child.*"

After speaking in Chicago, Ingersoll repeated this lecture in July of the same year at the Grand Opera House in San Francisco, and gave the large proceeds from it to local charities. The clergy of that city, as might be expected, were greatly disturbed by his appearance; and, eager to find some vulnerable point from which to attack him in their pulpits, they telegraphed to a religious worker in Peoria to furnish them with any available information reflecting upon Ingersoll's personal character. Much to their surprise, the reply came, that, aside from his anti-theological views, there was no such information. But they made the attack just the same; and Byron-like, Ingersoll retorted in one of his ablest lectures entitled *My Reviewers Reviewed.*

So much bitter controversy has raged over Ingersoll that it may be difficult to appraise this lecture without prejudice. It may be extravagant to say with one of his biographers that it "is a sermon fit for the Cathedral of the Universe"; but it never can be regarded as extravagant to say of part of this lecture, his soliloquy at the grave of Napoleon, that it is one of the most beautiful prose-poems in the English language. And, when we think too harshly of Ingersoll, or of this lecture let us remember that, in it, is another prose-poem, never excelled even in the works of the great Southern orator, Henry W. Grady, and worthy almost of Milton, whose *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* it suggests.

"The laugh of a child," said Ingersoll in this other prose-poem, "will make the holiest day more sacred still. Strike with hand of fire, O weird musician, thy harp strung with Apollo's golden hair; fill the vast cathedral aisles with symphonies sweet and dim, deft toucher of the organ keys; blow, bugle, blow, until thy silver notes do touch and kiss the moon-lit waves, and charm the lovers wandering 'mid the vine-clad hills. But know your sweetest strains are discords all, compared with childhood's happy laugh—the laugh that fills the eyes with light and every heart with joy. O rippling river of laughter, thou art the blessed boundary line between the beasts and men; and every wayward wave of thine doth drown some fretful fiend of care. O Laughter, rose-lipped daughter of Joy, there are dimples enough in thy cheeks to catch and hold and glorify all the tears of grief."

Such passages as this, found interspersed throughout the works of Ingersoll, have made his eloquence immortal, have made it rise above the subtleties and quick retorts of controversy, and have led both friends and foes to place him among the most gifted speakers of all times who have used the English tongue.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL: LIBERTY OF MAN, WOMAN,
AND CHILD

1877

Do not tell me that you have got to be rich in order to be happy. We have a false standard of these things in the United States. We think that a man must be great, that he must be famous, that he must be wealthy. That is all a mistake. It is not necessary to be rich, to be great, to be famous, to be powerful, in order to be happy. The happy man is the free

man. Happiness is the legal tender of the soul. Joy is wealth. Liberty is joy.

A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon. It is a magnificent sepulcher of gilt and gold, fit almost for a dead deity. I gazed upon the sarcophagus of rare and nameless marble in which rest at last the ashes of the restless man. I leaned upon the balustrade and thought of all the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world. I saw him upon the banks of the Seine contemplating suicide. I saw him quelling the mob in the streets of Paris. I saw him at the head of the army of Italy. I saw him crossing the bridge of Lodi with the tri-color in his hand. I saw him in Egypt in the shadows of the pyramids. I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him in Russia, where the infantry of the snows and the cavalry of the wild beasts scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipsic in defeat and disaster, driven by a million bayonets, clutched like a beast, banished to Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the magnificent force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where Chance and Fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king, and I saw him a prisoner on the rock at St. Helena, with his arms calmly folded behind his back gazing steadfastly out upon the sad and solemn sea.

And I thought of all the widows and orphans he had made; of all the tears that had been shed for his glory; of the only woman who had ever loved him torn from his heart by the ruthless hand of ambition. And I said, I would rather have been a poor French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut with the vines growing purple in the amorous kisses of the autumn sun, with my loving wife knitting by my side as the day died out of the sky, with my chil-

dren upon my knees and their arms about my neck; yes, I would rather have been that poor peasant and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great.

No, it is not necessary to be great to be happy. It is not necessary to be rich to be generous. It is not necessary to be powerful to be just. When the world is free, this question will be settled. A new creed will be written. In that creed, there will be but one word, "Liberty." Oh, Liberty, float not forever in the far horizon, remain not forever in the dream of the enthusiast, dwell not forever in the song of the poet, but come and make thy home among the children of men.

I know not what thoughts, what discoveries, what inventions may leap from the brain of the world; I know not what garments of glory may be woven by the years to come; I cannot dream of the victories to be won upon the fields of thought. But I do know, that coming from the infinite sea of the future there shall never touch this bank and shoal of time, a richer gift, a rarer blessing, than liberty.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF INGERSOLL'S DISCOURSE AT HIS BROTHER'S GRAVE

The funeral discourse of Robert Ingersoll, delivered over the remains of his elder brother, Ebon C. Ingersoll, is one of the few most rare and perfect gems of American commemorative eloquence, bearing comparison in every respect, except in its setting and its background, with Lincoln's more famous address at Gettysburg.

It was a speech unconnected with the thread of history; and yet it was a speech, so sublime in thought, so pathetic

in expression, and so beautiful in its imagery and diction that it, itself, may be said to have made history, to mark an epoch, to furnish an isolated and unique episode which mankind will never forget.

On May 31, 1879, Ebon C. Ingersoll died at his home in the City of Washington; and, on the second of June, the funeral services over his remains were conducted in the presence of one of the largest and most distinguished gatherings ever assembled for such a purpose in Washington, the pallbearers including men of great national prominence, like Senators William B. Allison, James G. Blaine, and Daniel W. Voorhees, the future Vice President. Adlai E. Stevenson, and the future President, James A. Garfield.

Because Ebon Ingersoll had shared fully the anti-theological views of his brother, it was not expected or desired that any Christian minister should speak at his funeral; but, to provide for just such an event, to ensure some sort of fitting burial service, both he and his brother had pledged themselves mutually in case of the other's death to deliver the funeral discourse.

And hence, it fell to the sad lot of Robert to perform this service for Ebon, who fell first by the wayside in the very prime of life. No task could have been more difficult, and yet no task was ever committed to hands more loving or more capable to perform their trust.

Since their earliest childhood, these two brothers, bereft of the loving care of a mother, had found in each other's companionship the joy of souls attuned to common sorrow and common happiness, to common thoughts, ambitions, ideals. Together, they had spent the gloomy Sabbaths of their boyhood; together they had listened to frightful and dreary dissertations on orthodoxy; and together they had rebelled against

the religion of their fathers. Together, they had studied law; together, they had hung out their shingle at Shawneetown and Peoria; together, they had climbed the ladder to success and fame in politics and law; together, they had come to the national capital for further triumphs; and now, when "eager winds were kissing every sail," in "the happiest, sunniest hour of all the voyage," the one was "dashed against an unseen rock," and the other left to face life's joys and sorrows alone and desolate.

As Ingersoll's biographer has said, "whether any other two brothers ever loved each other as intensely as they, cannot, of course, be stated; but that no other two ever loved more intensely is at least morally certain."

The death of Ebon Ingersoll brought to his brother a grief more poignant and overwhelming than he had ever experienced before, and it was therefore with the greatest effort that on the occasion of his funeral, Robert Ingersoll was able to master his feelings sufficiently to carry out the loving compact made years before. Yet this he struggled manfully to do. At last he stood beside his brother's bier. Tears welling up into his eyes frequently interfered with the utterance of his brief discourse, and grief finally compelled an interruption more pathetic even than his words.

The address that he delivered upon this occasion could not be marred, however, by any manifestation of his personal sorrow. It was in fact merely a sublime expression itself of this same sorrow; and both to those who listened, and to all others who have since come face to face with bereavement, it was, and is, one of the most beautiful, the most pathetic, and the most solacing utterances that could be made in the presence of death and over the remains of those whom we have loved.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL: AT HIS BROTHER'S GRAVE

JUNE 3, 1879

My Friends: I am going to do that which the dead oft promised he would do for me.

The loved and loving brother, husband, father, friend, died where manhood's morning almost touches noon, and while the shadows still were falling toward the west.

He had not passed on life's highway the stone that marks the highest point, but, being weary for a moment, lay down by the wayside, and using his burden for a pillow, fell into that dreamless sleep that kisses down his eyelids still. While yet in love with life and raptured with the world, he passed to silence and pathetic dust.

Yet, after all, it may be best, just in the happiest, sunniest hour of all the voyage, while eager winds are kissing every sail, to dash against the unseen rock, and in an instant hear the billows roar above the sunken ship. For, whether in mid-sea or 'mong the breakers of the farther shore, a wreck at last will mark the end of each and all. And every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jewelled with a joy, will at its close become a tragedy as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death.

This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock, but in the sunshine he was vine and flower. He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights and left all superstition far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day.

He loved the beautiful, and was with color, form, and music touched to tears. He sided with the weak, and with a willing hand gave alms; with loyal heart and with purest hands he faithfully discharged all public trusts.

He was a worshiper of liberty, a friend of the oppressed. A thousand times I have heard him quote these words: "For justice, all place, a temple, and all seasons, summer." He believed that happiness was the only good, reason the only torch, justice the only worship, humanity the only religion, and love the only priest. He added to the sum of human joy; and were every one to whom he did some loving service to bring a blossom to his grave, he would sleep tonight beneath a wilderness of flowers.

Life is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. We cry aloud, and the only answer is the echo of our wailing cry. From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word; but in the night of death hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing.

He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his last breath, "I am better now." Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead.

And now to you who have been chosen, from among the many men he loved, to do the last sad office for the dead, we give his sacred dust. Speech cannot contain our love. There was, there is, no greater, stronger, manlier man.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF INGERSOLL'S DECORATION DAY ORATION

Twice in the career of Robert G. Ingersoll, he produced ecstatic delight among thousands of listeners by incorporating in his addresses a word-picture of war, well-known now as his *Vision of War*, which, his biographer has said, is "beyond the uttermost reach of dispute, the most perfect of war-paintings."

The first occasion for the use of this wonderful prose-poem

came during an address to Civil War veterans at Indianapolis, on September 21, 1876, when Ingersoll, speaking from the stump in the Republican campaign for the election of Hayes to the presidency, addressed assembled thousands in the open air on: *Why He Was a Republican*.

Seldom has any orator been subjected to a more severe test than was Ingersoll on this occasion; for, during the delivery of his speech, two extremely heavy showers occurred, and yet not one of his listeners left the crowd to seek shelter; while many, indeed, remained rapt and motionless, as water actually trickled down their backs from neighboring umbrellas. From the pathos of his utterance, women became hysterical; and from the same cause strong men broke down and wept. Even Garfield, who was seated on the platform near Ingersoll, was visibly affected, and, at the conclusion of the address, greeted the speaker with a tearful embrace.

So famous became the *Vision of War*, as Ingersoll gave it to these Civil War Veterans in 1876, that, twelve years afterwards, in New York City, when he was to be the principal speaker for the Memorial Day exercises conducted by the Grand Army, he was requested to incorporate this gem in his address; and, doing so, he appended to it another effective word-picture, which has become known as his *Vision of Peace*.

On this second occasion, Ingersoll spoke in the great Metropolitan Opera House. According to the *New York Times*, every seat in the house was filled, and hundreds stood, glad to find any place where they could see and hear. Many empty sleeves were there in evidence, it is said, worn by veterans with scanty locks and grizzled mustaches. On the breasts of many faded uniforms, glittered the badges of legions in which veterans had fought and suffered; and, at the side of these veterans, sat wives and daughters, whose hearts had ached at home while those they loved were serving at the front.

Chauncey Depew was chairman of the evening's exercises. With the greatest simplicity and pointedness, he introduced the speaker as "the greatest living orator, and one of the great controversialists of the age."

Then Colonel Ingersoll stepped forth. From the beginning to the end of his discourse, each point that he made was greeted with enthusiastic cheers; but, during his peroration, that is, during the delivery of his *Vision of War* and his *Vision of Peace*, it is said that the audience simply went wild.

"It was a grand oration," said the *New York Times*, "and it was listened to by enthusiastic and appreciative hearers, upon whom not a single word was lost, and in whose hearts every word awoke a responsive echo. Nor did the enthusiasm, which Colonel Ingersoll created, end until the very last, when the whole assemblage arose and sang *America* in a way which will never be forgotten. It was a great ending of a great evening."

Yet what made this evening great was solely and simply Ingersoll's rendition of his *Vision of War*. This beautiful, imaginative flight of eloquence stirred men's souls to their very depths; and the effect that it produced has led at least one of Ingersoll's biographers to say that "if he had spoken no word before or since, it would still be the verdict, that he was, with consummate ease, the most eloquent orator of the English tongue."

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL: DECORATION DAY ORATION

MAY 30, 1888

The past rises before me like a dream. Again we are in the great struggle for national life. We hear the sounds of preparation; the music of the boisterous drums; the silver voices of heroic bugles. We see thousands of assemblages, and hear the appeals of orators. We see the pale cheeks of

women, and the flushed faces of men; and in those assemblages we see all the dead whose dust we have covered with flowers. We lose sight of them no more. We are with them when they enlist in the great army of freedom. We see them part with those they love. Some are walking for the last time in quiet, woody places with the maidens they adore. We hear the whisperings and the sweet vows of eternal love as they lingeringly part forever. Others are bending over cradles, kissing babes that are asleep. Some are receiving the blessings of old men. Some are parting with mothers who hold them and press them to their hearts again and again and say nothing. Kisses and tears, tears and kisses—divine mingling of agony and joy! And some are talking with wives, and endeavoring with brave words, spoken in the old tones, to drive from their hearts the awful fear. We see them part. We see the wife standing in the door with the babe in her arms—standing in the sunlight, sobbing. At the turn of the road a hand waves—she answers by holding high in her loving arms the child. He is gone, and forever.

We see them all as they march proudly away under the flaunting flags, keeping time to the grand, wild music of war—marching down the streets of the great cities—through the towns and across the prairies—down to the fields of glory, to do and to die for the eternal right.

We go with them, one and all. We are by their side on the gory fields—in all the hospitals of pain—on all the weary marches. We stand guard with them in the wild storm and under the quiet stars. We are with them in ravines running with blood—in the furrows of old fields. We are with them between contending hosts, unable to move, wild with thirst, the life ebbing slowly away among the withered leaves. We

see them pierced with balls and torn with shells, in the trenches, by forts, and in the whirlwind of the charge, where men become iron, with nerves of steel.

We are with them in the prisons of hatred and famine; but human speech can never tell what they endured.

We are at home when the news comes that they are dead. We see the maiden in the shadow of her first sorrow. We see the silvered head of the old man bowed with the last grief.

The past rises before us, and we see four millions of human beings governed by the lash—we see them bound hand and foot—we hear the strokes of cruel whips—we see the hounds tracking women through tangled swamps. We see babes sold from the breasts of mothers. Cruelty unspeakable! Outrage infinite!

Four million bodies in chains—four million souls in fetters. All the sacred relations of wife, mother, father, and child trampled beneath the brutal feet of might. And all this was done under our own beautiful banner of the free.

The past rises before us. We hear the roar and shriek of the bursting shell. The broken fetters fall. These heroes died. We look. Instead of slaves we see men and women and children. The wand of progress touches the auction block, the slave pen, the whipping post, and we see homes and fire-sides and school-houses and books, and where all was want and crime and cruelty and fear, we see the faces of the free.

These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless Palace

of Rest. Earth may run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for soldiers living and dead: Cheers for the living; tears for the dead.

A vision of the future rises:

I see our country filled with happy homes, with âresides of content,—the foremost land of all the earth.

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free, Nature's forces have by Science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret, subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with Music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl trying to win bread with the needle—the needle that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor,"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain,—shapely and fair,—the married harmony of form and function,—and as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all, in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.

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COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXTS

On Ingersoll's *Nomination of Blaine*

- I. Who was Benjamin H. Bristow?—and what evidence is there that the question of his loyalty was one of party loyalty and not loyalty to the country?
- II. What internal evidence is there that Ingersoll regarded Republicanism and patriotism as synonymous?—and how did he justify such a viewpoint?—See his *Indianapolis Speech* (1876).
- III. What indirect reference does Ingersoll make to: (1) Hayes as a dark horse; (2) Grant's course in civil service reform—See Rhodes; (3) the Greenback party; (4) negro suffrage; (5) the case of Costello, Warren, and Burke—See Blaine in Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of Am. Biog.*; (6) the pension system for Civil War veterans—See Bassett, 726; (7) the protective tariff of 1875—See Lingley, 106, Bassett, 648; (8) the Know Nothing remnant in the Republican party; (9) Blaine's personal vindication in Congress against charges connected with the *Mulligan Letters*; (10) the attitude of the Liberal Republican faction on Reconstruction—See Bassett, 648; (11) Blaine's *Retort to Benjamin H. Hill*—See Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of Am. Biog.*; (12) Blaine's *Speech on Amnesty for Jefferson Davis*.
- IV. What were Andersonville and Libby?
- V. What is the meaning of the expressions: (1) whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers—See *Speech on Amnesty for Davis*; (2) prince of parliamentarians?

On Ingersoll's *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Ingersoll was familiar with: (1) Tennyson's *Bugle Song*; (2) Gray's *Elegy*, Stanzas 8-16; (3) Milton's *L'Allegro*, lines 25-36; (4) Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene VII, line 7?
- II. When were Napoleon's remains removed to Paris?—See Hazen's *Mod. European Hist.*, 247.
- III. When did Napoleon stand on the banks of the Seine and contemplate suicide?—See Wells's *Outline of Hist.*, Bk. VIII, Chap. 38, Sec. 1; Abbott's *History of Napoleon* (1859) 62-63.
- IV. When did Napoleon quell the mob in the streets of Paris?—See Adams's *Growth of the Fr. Nation*, 297.
- V. What is the story of: (1) Napoleon at the head of the army in Italy?—See Hazen, 156-158; (2) Napoleon crossing the bridge of Lodi—See Hazen, 159; (3) Napoleon in the shadow of the Pyramids—See Hazen, 169-173; (4) Napoleon crossing the Alps—See Hazen, 182; (5) Napoleon in the Russian campaign—See Hazen, 234-237; (6) Napoleon at Leipsic, and Elba, and on his return to power—See Hazen, 238-244; (7) Napoleon at Waterloo—See Hazen, 246; Hugo's *Les Misérables*, Part II, Book I; Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*; (8) Napoleon at St. Helena—See Rosebury's *Napoleon, the Last Phase*, Chaps. IV-VII, XI-XVI; *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*
- VI. How many widows and orphans had Napoleon made?—See Lord's *Beacon Lights of History*, IV, 435.

On Ingersoll's *Decoration Day Oration*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Ingersoll was familiar with: (1) Walt Whitman's *Eighteen Sixty-One*; (2) Whitman's *Beat! Beat! Drums!*; (3) Longfellow's *Killed at the Ford*; (4) Whitman's *Come Up from the Fields, Mother*; (5) Whittier's *Our Fellow-Countrymen in Chains*; (6) Whittier's *The Hunters of Men*; (7) Whittier's *Farewell of a Virginia Slave Mother*; (8) Thomas Campbell's *Exile of Erin*; (9) Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon*; (10) Thomas Hood's *The Bridge of Sighs*; (11) Thomas Hood's *The Song of the Shirt*; (12) Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act V, Scene II, lines 289-359; (13) Lowell's *Vision of Sir Launfal*; (14) Tennyson's *Ring Out Wild Bells*?

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. amorous 2. canopies 3. chimneys 4. flaunting 5. foreheads 6. gibbet
7. integrity 8. intrepid 9. legal tender 10. maligner 11. sarcophagus 12. wand
13. warp 14. woof

CHAPTER XVII

HENRY W. GRADY

HENRY W. GRADY'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF HIS TIMES

Henry W. Grady is generally recognized as the most brilliant Southern orator since the days of the Civil War. Upon him largely fell the task of expounding to the South its limitless opportunities for an industrial reawakening after the disheartening experiences of the Reconstruction period. And to him also came the task and the duty to explain to the North the attitude of the South toward the solution of its race problem; to ask of the North that it give to the South its confidence and its co-operation for the proper solution of this problem; and to plead with the North for a complete reconciliation after the long years of misunderstanding and mutual distrust.

For undertaking such tasks and such duties with an eloquence that has seldom been equaled, Grady may be spoken of as "the apostle of a New South" — its enthusiastic champion at home and its welcome ambassador among the peoples of the North.

Throughout a period of only three years, between 1886 and 1889, Grady was active as a nationally known orator in carrying out this mission; but, during these years, he acquired a reputation that places him in the forefront of American orators of all times.

These years when Grady was active were the last two years of President Cleveland's first administration and the first year of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. Throughout this period there was anxious political foreboding, first in the North

among Republicans, and then in the South among Democrats, at the prospect of losing control and influence at the national capital.

It will be remembered that President Cleveland was the first Democratic President to be elected since the Civil War. His election in 1884 had been largely due to defection in the Republican party at the North, when the so-called Mugwump faction, led by men like Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis, had declared that the old Civil War issues were dead; that the Republican party must be disciplined for its adherence to the spoils system; and that new issues involving industrial expansion and the curbing of corporate wealth must be given weight.

The South, of course, was elated over Cleveland's election; but the North—or at least the Republican party in the North—was greatly dejected. It claimed that "the Confederate brigadiers were again in the saddle"; that all that had been won in the war for the Union was now in jeopardy; and that the South, which had to be recognized by Cleveland in his appointments, "remained in heart, substance, and purpose what it was in 1860."

To add fuel to the flames, Cleveland perhaps wisely and perhaps unwisely approved a measure giving pensions to all Mexican War veterans, who were chiefly Southerners, and vetoed a pension measure for dependents of Northern soldiers of the Civil War. This caused much adverse criticism; but a subsequent measure proposing to return captured Confederate battle flags, along with all other battle flags, to the States whence they came, aroused a great flame of indignant opposition.

The Republicans felt that they must get back into power. They attributed their defeat to the suppression of the negro Republican vote in the South by illegal means; and, hence,

they threatened, when restored to control in the government, to force the Southern States to stop discrimination against the negro vote. On this issue, to a large extent, as well as on the issue of the tariff, the Republicans fought in 1888, and, in that year, they regained control of both Houses of Congress, and elected Harrison as Cleveland's successor. But they were not ready to press their so-called "Force Bill" for another two years, because the Congress then elected did not assemble until December, 1889, and did not begin its real labors until the early months of 1890. At that time, Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts introduced his famous measure to restore negro suffrage in the South; and, had it not been for a change of heart among certain Northern Senators, due to investments of Northern capital in Southern enterprises, a *Federal Election Law*, or *Force Bill*, would have been passed. It did, in fact, pass the House, but it was allowed to die a lingering death in the Senate.

While such issues were disturbing the peace of the country, Henry W. Grady came forward as the spokesman of the New South, to invite Northern capital to help in upbuilding Southern industries; to explain to the North the attitude of the South toward the race problem; and to exhort his fellow-citizens in the South to remain solidly Democratic in order to prevent any return to the old regime of extravagant waste and corruption that had been experienced in the days of Reconstruction under carpetbag and negro governments.

The great utterances of Henry W. Grady in the field of oratory were restricted to the years between 1886 and 1889; but the background of history from which he drew his inspiration and his facts extended from the Civil War, down through two decades of valiant effort upon the part of the South to restore its lost prestige and prosperity.

During the Civil War, Grady was a boy of from ten to fourteen years of age. His father had left home at the earliest opportunity for service at the front with the Confederate armies in Virginia. For four years, Grady's home in Georgia was protected only by the loyalty of slaves that were left there by the head of the household. In the last year of the war, the Federal armies under General Sherman carried death and destruction through Grady's native State in their advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from Atlanta to the sea, whence they proceeded northward into the Carolinas, thus encircling in their march the town of Athens where the Grady home was situated; and, in this same year, Grady learned of the death of his father, who was killed in battle during one of the engagements about Petersburg, when Grant was pounding his way against Lee's forces into Richmond.

Upon Grady as a boy, therefore, the Civil War left an indelible impression; but upon Grady as a youth, the period of Reconstruction, with its carpetbag and negro government, left an impression that was equally indelible. During the years between 1865 and 1868, he witnessed the total disfranchisement of the old governing class throughout the South and the military despotism of Northern commanders, who had been sent to govern the Southern States as conquered territories. Then, from 1868 to 1872, he witnessed the operation of State governments erected by Northern adventurers with the support of the newly enfranchised ex-slaves and renegade whites of the South. He witnessed the wild orgies of corruption and graft in these governments that brought bankruptcy and ruin in their wake. And finally he witnessed the general uprising of the white population to regain by force, or by chicanery, the lost supremacy of their race in administering the State governments.

As a young man, he witnessed the restoration to power of the white race by the general amnesty measures of 1872. He witnessed the creation of a solidly Democratic South to combat the menace of a revived Negro-Republican regime. In 1874, he witnessed the triumph of the national Democratic party, with the aid of the South, in gaining control of the lower House of Congress; and, in 1876, he witnessed the near-triumph of the Democratic party in its efforts to capture the presidency, when only fraud and sharp practice kept it from attaining its goal.

Then, with the election of Hayes to the presidency, and with the subsequent lenient policy toward the South, prompted by assurance of continued Republican control of the national government, he witnessed the gradual dying-out of sectional animosity through the next eight years of Republican rule. But, with the election of Cleveland in 1884, all the old sectional rancor seemed to spring up overnight again. The South at that time needed a spokesman to defend its policy and to secure the peace of the Union. The older leaders had nearly all passed away, and Grady felt that upon him must fall the task of being a peace-maker between the two sections of the country.

As Grady undertook this task, he knew that he must perform it in a spirit of reverence for the heroic leaders of the South during the Civil War—for such men as Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens of his own State, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who was yet living and active in stirring the memories of the past. He could not perform his purpose, however, unless he blended with his praise for these men an equal respect for the leaders of the North, such as Webster from an earlier generation, and Lincoln and Grant from the

generation of those who upheld the Union in the strife between the sections.

Throughout all of Grady's speaking, Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia seemed to inspire him most with the attitude that he took toward the problems of meeting the new conditions imposed by the Reconstruction policy of the Federal government. Hill, in fact, created the slogan of the New South, which Grady adopted; but Hill did more: in his speech of 1876, *In Reply to Blaine*, he showed that submission to the arbitrament of war need not be accompanied by any disparagement of the work done by the former Confederate leaders.

Benjamin H. Hill, therefore, was Grady's great prototype, but not his only prototype. Less intimately connected with Grady, but much like him in his purpose and method, was also Lucius Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, who, in 1874, delivered a famous peace message in his *Eulogy of Charles Sumner*, before the two Houses of Congress.

While Grady was yet unknown and in training for his great task, he heard, among Northerners, the solacing voice of Carl Schurz, who, in 1872, pleaded for a general amnesty; and, in contrast with this voice, the bitter, strident campaign oratory of 1876 from James G. Blaine and Robert G. Ingersoll, that stirred the soul of the South to hot resentment.

When, however, Grady came to deliver his message for a New South, a decade later, in 1886, he felt that, in the North, even among the old Republican orators, he had some friends, such as Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis; for these men had separated themselves from the old organization on the ground that Civil War issues were dead.

At this time, he had to meet the old antipathies that were once again fanned into flame by such speakers as James G.

Blaine, Robert G. Ingersoll, John Sherman, George Frisbie Hoar, and Henry Cabot Lodge; but this he did with brilliant tact that has seldom been equaled.

That Grady was able to hold his own in the South and at the same time to placate the North, to win its love and admiration, and to forestall its movement for returning the Southern governments to the domination of the black race by the use of Federal bayonets, was an achievement almost incredible; and, for this achievement, Grady is hailed as the greatest orator of the South since the Civil War—a peer of America's foremost orators of all times.

THE LIFE OF HENRY W. GRADY

Henry W. Grady was the most gifted orator of the South in the period of its recovery from the disasters of the Civil War and from the mistaken policy of Reconstruction. On December 22, 1886, he was comparatively unknown beyond the borders of his own State of Georgia; yet, on the following morning, he awoke to find that, as the result of a single speech, he had become one of America's most famous orators of all times.

Seldom in America had there been any parallel for such an achievement in the field of eloquence. Only, perhaps, in the case of Patrick Henry when he delivered "his electrical warning to George Third" in 1765; or in the case of Wendell Phillips when he delivered his impromptu speech on *The Murder of Lovejoy* in 1837; or in the case of Robert G. Ingersoll when he nominated Blaine at the Republican National Convention in 1876, had there been any such triumph as Grady achieved on this occasion in New York City when he delivered his famous speech, entitled *The New South*.

For three years, thereafter, Grady stood before the country in the capacity of an orator, whose chief theme was the rebuilding of the South and the reconciliation of the two sections of the country that had lately been estranged by civil strife. By speech after speech, in those three years, he added continually to his fame; and then, at the time of his sudden death, he was recognized everywhere throughout America as one of the most masterful orators of the English tongue.

Henry W. Grady was born at Athens, Georgia, in 1851, and there grew up in the luxury of a rich Southern home. When a mere boy of ten, he saw the outbreak of the Civil War, and lost the guiding influence of his venerated father, who departed at once for service in the Confederate army.

The havoc wrought in Georgia during the last year of this war, Grady never could forget; and when, at its conclusion, the body of his dead father, killed in battle at Petersburg, Virginia, was brought back to Athens for burial, he received a shock that left its mark upon his character throughout the remainder of his life.

At the age of seventeen, during the troublous period of Reconstruction, when Benjamin H. Hill and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia were setting a noble example of courage and good-will to the whole South, Grady graduated at the State University in his home town, and then proceeded to the University of Virginia, where he undertook a post-graduate study of journalism and oratory.

Here he won a brilliant local reputation as a college debater and orator; but, at the conclusion of his course, like many other promising students, he dropped from public notice and became immersed in the work of journalism. At first, he tried his hand in editing the Rome (Georgia) *Commercial*, then the Atlanta *Herald*, and finally the Atlanta *Capital*. In

all of these papers, he was heavily interested financially; and all, after a brief period of brilliant competition, went into bankruptcy, which nearly wrecked the youthful editor.

In 1875, he stood on the streets of Atlanta with only fifty dollars to his name and no employment to give him or his family support. He gave twenty dollars to his wife, and with the remainder set out for New York to see if he could secure employment on one of the great metropolitan newspapers.

By rare good fortune, he obtained the chance to write for the New York *Herald* an account of the recent Southern State Constitutional Conventions. With this subject he was thoroughly familiar, and his article was so colorful that the editor engaged him at once to be the Southern correspondent for this great daily.

On his return to Atlanta, he began his long career of brilliantly successful journalism. Not only was he henceforth for five years a correspondent of the New York *Herald*, but he was also a member of the editorial staff of the Atlanta *Constitution*.

During this period, he distinguished himself for the graphic reports he made on the South Carolina riots of 1876, and on the election frauds perpetrated in Florida during the presidential election of the same year, which gave rise to the famous Hayes-Tilden controversy.

While in Florida to investigate these frauds, he was intimately associated with Senator Joseph E. Brown, the wartime governor of Georgia, who had been appointed by Tilden to look out for his interests; and he, therefore, had an excellent opportunity to study at short range the innermost workings of one of the shrewdest political minds in the South.

But, on this occasion, he did more than to study the political situation of the South. He began, at this time, to make a care-

ful survey of the economic resources of that whole section of the country with a view to creating an industrial reawakening in the South.

In 1879, he again visited New York to get material for a series of articles on the metropolis for use in the South; and, while there, he was introduced by Governor John B. Gordon of Georgia to the financier, Cyrus W. Field. From him he borrowed twenty thousand dollars to buy a one-fourth interest in the *Atlanta Constitution*. The purchase was promptly made; and, thereafter, Grady devoted himself so thoroughly to improving the quality of this paper that, when he died a decade later, his interest in the journal was worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

In 1886, Grady was invited as the first representative of the South since the Civil War to make an address at the annual banquet of the New England Society of New York City, on the evening of December 22. He realized that the occasion presented a magnificent opportunity to appeal for a better understanding between North and South; and, with an eloquence that seemed almost inspired, he delivered before that gathering an oration entitled *The New South*, which was immediately hailed throughout the whole country as one of the most brilliant specimens of oratorical literature that had been produced in America since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock.

Henceforth, and instantaneously, Grady was recognized as one of the foremost orators in the land. During the next three years, his services were everywhere in demand, especially in the South, where he came to be regarded with veneration.

In 1887, he delivered a celebrated address on *Prohibition* at Atlanta; and the next year, 1888, he brought forth two even better-known addresses: the first, on *The South and Her Prob-*

lems at the Dallas (Texas) State Fair; and the second, on *The Solid South* at the Augusta Exposition, in Georgia.

The year 1889 marks, however, the great climax in Grady's brief career; for, in that year, he distinguished himself still further by four remarkable addresses: the first, *Against Centralization*, at the commencement exercises of the University of Virginia; the second, on *The Farmer and the Cities*, at Elberton, Georgia; and the third and fourth, in Boston on *The Race Problem in the South*, and on *Plymouth Rock and Democracy*.

The sad sequel of Grady's speaking in Boston was that he caught cold in the inclement weather of the Northern city; and, within ten days, he was carried off by pneumonia in a most untimely death.

For the brief period of only three years, he had stood before the nation in the rôle of peace-maker; yet in that period he had blazoned his name indelibly upon the list of America's greatest orators.

No other orator in America has ever possessed Grady's subtle power of painting vivid word-pictures that charm the fancy and lead captive the imagination, unless perhaps it was Robert G. Ingersoll in some of his most touching bits of pathos. But these two orators were indeed exceptional. They were as much prose-poets, as they were orators.

To gain some conception of Grady's style of oratory, we need only to recall the comment of a Southern critic, who said that "Grady makes you feel like you want to be an angel and with the angels stand"—or we may recall the comment of a Boston lawyer, that his speech was like a "cannon ball in full flight, fringed with flowers."

It was not Grady, the stylist, however, that made him truly great, but rather Grady, the man. He was indeed a type, like

Lincoln,—the type of the New South, that was enamoured with the work of reconstruction and reconciliation. As Patrick Henry was the great orator of the Revolution, and Wendell Phillips the great orator of the anti-slavery agitation, so Henry W. Grady was the orator of orators among the peace-makers, whose task it was to extinguish all the smouldering embers of the war, and make the North and South see, eye to eye, as brothers building up anew a glorious future for the country that was to be theirs in common, henceforth, and for ever.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF GRADY'S THE NEW SOUTH SPEECH

The New South, an impromptu address made by Henry W. Grady before the New England Society of New York City at its annual banquet on December 22, 1886, was one of the great epoch-making addresses in the history of American eloquence.

Of this address, Thomas DeWitt Talmage, himself a great orator, has said: "The bravest speech made for the last quarter of a century was made by Mr. Grady in New York at the New England dinner. I sat with him that evening," said Talmage, "and know something of his anxieties; for he was to tread on dangerous ground, and might by one mis-spoken word have antagonized both sections of the country; yet his speech was a victory that thrilled all of us who heard him and all who read him. That speech, great for wisdom, great for kindness, great for pacification, great for bravery, will go down to the generations with Webster's speech at Bunker Hill, William Wirt's speech at the arraignment of Aaron Burr, Edmund Burke's speech on Warren Hastings, and Robert Emmet's speech for his own vindication."

What made this speech so brave was that Henry W. Grady, then a young man scarcely known beyond the borders of his

own State, stood alone in a great Northern metropolis, the first Southerner since the Civil War to be a guest of the society under whose auspices he was to speak, and there, in that presence, at a time when partisan spirit was doing its utmost again to stir the embers of civil strife, he was to be the sole champion and exponent of the New South, yielding nothing to the North that would disparage the glory or honor of the Old South, yet with perfect poise, appealing to the North for reconciliation, for brotherhood, for mutual understanding, and for co-operation in the upbuilding of our common country.

The work of reconciliation between North and South since Grady's time has been so thorough and far-reaching that it is hard for a younger generation to realize the sectional prejudice awakened by political partisans during the years between 1885 and 1889, which mark the first Democratic administration in Washington since before the Civil War. The campaign which resulted in Cleveland's election to the presidency, and the State and Congressional campaigns in the succeeding years of 1885 and 1886 were conducted by many Republicans on the stale and thread-bare issue of "waving the bloody shirt"; and when Cleveland was inaugurated, these doughty peacetime warriors, unable to forget the horrors of the past, because they meant for them the spoils of office, were quick to announce that now "the South was again in the saddle."

Old-time Republicans were bitterly chagrined by their defeat at the polls in 1884; and this, they attributed, in attacks upon the South, to violence and fraud, which, they claimed, practically disfranchised the negro voter. The shoo-fly cry of "bloody shirt," they said, could not stop their arraignment of election methods that destroyed the sanctity of the ballot box; and "with the help of God," said John Sherman of Ohio, "we are going to arrange that the vote of the man who fol-

lowed Lee shall no longer have, in national affairs, three times the power of the vote of the man who followed Grant."

Against this old school of Republicans, however, was arrayed a new school of liberal and independent thinkers, including such men as Henry Ward Beecher, Carl Schurz, and George William Curtis, who believed that the country was faced by new issues of the greatest magnitude, in the antagonism of labor and capital, in the preservation of our natural resources from the grip of huge corporations, and in the assimilation of our immigrants. These men, turning away from the old Republican party and its worn-out platform of Civil War prejudice, had given their support to Cleveland; and it was doubtless due to their influence that Grady, the foremost editor of the *Far South* and a practical dictator in the politics of his own State, was invited to speak in the Northern metropolis, as a trustworthy representative of the spirit that animated the New South.

When Grady rose to his feet at the banquet table of the New England Society, he thought merely that he would make a formal response to the toast of *The South*; but, as he said afterwards, "there was something in the scene that was inspiring." At the same table near him sat William Tecumseh Sherman, the Union general, who had marched through Grady's native State, from Atlanta to the sea, carrying everywhere the desolation of fire and sword; and all about him were "the fat and jocund sons of New England, who had prospered by the results of the war, while Grady's own people had had the direst poverty for their portion."

"When I found myself on my feet," said Grady, on his return to Georgia, "every nerve in my body was strung as tight as a fiddle-string, and all tingling. I knew then that I had a message for that assemblage; and, as soon as I opened my mouth, it came rushing out."

In the whole range of English literature, there is nothing more pathetic than Grady's description in this speech of the return in defeat of the Confederate veteran, standing out, as it does, in marked contrast with the equally vivid description of the return in triumph of the Northern veteran given in Talmage's speech on the same occasion. There is also nothing more wholesome than Grady's bubbling humor, when he referred to Sherman as a man, thought, in the South, to be "kind of careless about fire"; there is nothing more beautifully reverent than his allusion to the "plain, white shaft" on the central hill of Athens that marked the grave of his father, who "died in a brave and simple faith"; there is nothing more genuine than his expression of gratitude to the negro race for their loyalty to Southern masters during the war; and, finally, there is nothing more bewitchingly persuasive than his appeal to New England not to withhold from the South, "save in strained courtesy, the hand, which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox."

This speech, says Joel Chandler Harris in his *Life of Grady*, created a "tremendous sensation." Yet it was "an impromptu effort from beginning to end. It was the creature of the occasion. Fortunately, a reporter of the New York *Tribune* was present, and he has preserved for us something of the flavor and finish of the words, which the young Southerner uttered on his first introduction to a Northern audience. The tremendous impression that he made, however, has never been recorded. There was a faint echo of it in the newspapers, a buzz, and a stir in the hotel lobbies, but all that was said was inadequate to explain why these sons of New England, accustomed as they were to eloquence of the rarer kind, as the volumes of their proceedings show, rose to their feet and shouted themselves hoarse over the simple and impromptu effort of this young Georgian."

This description, from the pen of Joel Chandler Harris, is the best we have for the effect of Grady's speech upon his immediate audience; but volumes upon volumes would not contain the numberless descriptions we have for the effect of this speech upon the country as a whole. For Grady, himself, it meant a "meteoric rise to fame" as one of the country's foremost orators; but, for the South, the North, and the country as a whole, it meant the dawn of a new era of mutual understanding and good-will.

HENRY W. GRADY: THE NEW SOUTH

DECEMBER 22, 1886

"There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of Union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall, in 1866. true then, and truer now. I shall make my text to-night.

In speaking to the toast with which you have honored me, I accept the term, "The New South," as in no sense disparaging to the old. Dear to me, sir, is the home of my childhood, and the traditions of my people. I would not, if I could, dim the glory they won in peace and war, or by word or deed take aught from the splendor and grace of their civilization, never equaled in its chivalric strength and grace. There is a new South, not through protest against the old, but because of new conditions, new adjustments, and, if you please, new ideas and aspirations.

Doctor Talmage¹ has drawn for you with a master's hand,

¹ See Talmage: *Behold the American* in Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1903) III, 1122-1128; (1923) III, 307-313.

the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes! Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home? Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865.

Think of him as ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia's hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and faithful journey. What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful?

He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy upon his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, employment, material or training, and,

besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence,—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

What does he do—this hero in gray, with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely, God who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldiers stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plough; and the fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June. From the ashes left us in 1864, we have raised a brave and beautiful city. Somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface but stronger at the core; a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace, and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair upon her face. She is thrilling with a consciousness of a growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanding horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because, in the inscrutable wisdom of God, her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle was war between the States and not rebellion, revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own conviction if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back. In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hills—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men, that of a brave, a simple man who died in a brave and simple faith. Not for all the glories of New England—from Plymouth Rock all the way—would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the foot of that shaft I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory, which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by a higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His Almighty Hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil—the American Union saved from the wreck of war.

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of the soil about the city in which I live is sacred as a battle-ground of the Republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted, in defeat—sacred soil to all of us, rich with memories that make us purer

and stronger and better, silent but staunch witnesses in its red desolation of the matchless valor of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms—speaking an eloquent witness, in its white peace and prosperity, to the indissoluble union of American States and the imperishable brotherhood of the American people.

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts which never felt the generous ardor of conflict it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered about the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and a delusion?

If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this message of good-will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very society forty years ago amid tremendous applause, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said "Standing hand in hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and united forever."¹

¹See Webster: *Before the New England Society* (1850) in *Works of Webster* (1853) II, 517-528; Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) III, 365-374.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF GRADY'S SPEECH ON THE SOUTH AND
HER PROBLEMS

The speech by Henry W. Grady at Dallas, Texas, on *The South and Her Problems*, completed the work, begun two years before in New York, of making permanent Grady's nation-wide reputation for eloquence of the highest order.

This speech, delivered at the Texas State Fair, during the presidential campaign of 1888, on October 26, just eleven days before the exciting contest closed, was, like all of Grady's subsequent speeches, a continuation and elaboration of his address on *The New South*, delivered before the New England Society of New York City.

Coming, as it did, at the very height of the campaign, this speech, by the ablest Southern orator, shows clearly the tense feeling of the South toward the outcome of the struggle between Cleveland and Harrison for the presidency. In the North, the chief issue between Republicans and Democrats was on the tariff; but, in the South, the chief issue was whether the white, or the black, race should be dominant in politics.

"Not in twenty years," said Grady, "have we seen a day so pregnant with fate to this section as the 6th of next November. If President Cleveland is then defeated, which God forbid, I believe these States will be led through sorrows compared to which the woes of Reconstruction will be as the fading dews of morning to the roaring flood. To dominate these States through the colored vote, with such aid as Federal patronage may debauch or Federal power determine, and thus through its chosen instruments perpetuate its rule, is in my opinion the settled purpose of the Republican party; and I am appalled when I measure the passion in which this negro problem is judged by the leaders of that party."

With very good reason, too, Grady feared the purpose of

the Republicans; for, ever since the Republican defeat of 1884, responsible leaders of that party had been fulminating against the extra-legal methods employed in the South for undoing Reconstruction and for disfranchising the Republican negro vote.

These methods, Elson, the historian, describes by saying that "the process of undoing Reconstruction began with the downfall of the carpetbag governments; continued for more than thirty years; and resulted in the complete restoration of the whites to power throughout the South. The first stage in this process was marked by violence and disorder in the extreme, the most prominent feature being the work of the Ku Klux. This condition led Congress to pass the *Enforcement Act* of 1870, the *Ku Klux Act* of 1871, and an additional *Civil Rights Bill* in 1875. There were also *Federal Election Acts* passed in 1871 and 1872. But in spite of all this, every Southern State that had seceded turned Democratic, beginning with Tennessee in 1869 and ending with Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina in 1877. But as violence in the South against the black voter always awakened an outcry from the North, a new plan was inaugurated about 1877, which marks the beginning of the second stage of the undoing of Reconstruction. During this period, which continued till 1890, the whites kept control chiefly by sharp practice, such as gerrymandering and ballot-box juggling, by which the ignorant blacks were easily managed."

"All sorts of devices were employed," says Elson, quoting from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by Professor W. A. Dunning. "Sometimes the negroes were obliged to travel thirty or forty miles to vote, where rivers without bridges were to be crossed, and all ferries would be tied up on election

day. In one town where a poll tax was required, and the Republicans had furnished hundreds of negroes with tax receipts for a certain election, the Democrats managed to have a circus in town on election day, and arranged to have tax receipts accepted for admission. The election booth was deserted by the blacks, while the circus was crowded."

Chagrined by their late defeat in the national elections, Republican leaders, like John Sherman and William McKinley in Ohio, and Henry Cabot Lodge in Massachusetts, were loud in their protest against negro disfranchisement. When, however, William Tecumseh Sherman, a man cordially hated throughout the South, added his protest, it was almost too much for the South to bear.

During the campaign of 1888, General Sherman stirred to fury the whole South by his printed statement, that "the negro must be allowed to vote, and his vote must be counted; otherwise, so sure as there is a God in Heaven, you will have another war, more cruel than the last, when torch and dagger will take the place of the muskets of well-ordered battalions. Should the negro strike that blow, in seeming justice there will be millions to assist them."

This statement, from the man who desolated Georgia with fire and sword, roused in Grady a sense of deep resentment, and led him to accept the invitation to become the spokesman of Southern Democracy at the Dallas (Texas) State Fair.

After the most elaborate and painstaking preparation, which was irksome to Grady's genius, he boarded a special car at Atlanta on the train for Dallas, and began a journey that proved to be one long and continuous ovation at every station on the route. In Dallas, however, a grand climax was reached by the spontaneous enthusiasm of his reception. As Joel

Chandler Harris says, "some sort of program had been arranged by a committee, but the crowds trampled on this, and the affair took the shape of an American hullabaloo."

Though every other feature of the program was tossed to the winds, the speech-making was fully carried out; and it is said that "the young editor completely captured the vast crowd that had assembled to hear him." Throwing away his prepared speech, except so far as certain passages seemed to fit the inspiration of the moment, Grady announced his purpose to speak bluntly and vigorously on the question of what the South should do to be saved: first, in respect to the race problem; and second, in respect to the no less unique and important industrial problem. Confessing his ardent love for the negro race, which no Northern man could comprehend, Grady then proceeded to declare that, whereas the negro should be given every right civil and political, by the solid vote of the white race he should never be allowed to dominate again the government of the South. To save the South for the nation, however, Grady contended that not only the race problem must be solved, but so also must be the problem of freeing the South from the tyranny of "King Cotton" by diversifying Southern industry.

With the subtle mastery of consummate eloquence, Grady pictured for his hearers the loyalty of Southern slaves during the Civil War compared with the vicious system of negro government after the war; and then speaking of the indelible line that God had drawn between the races, he invoked the divine law that Anglo-Saxon blood should always dominate, and that, under the threat of Northern bayonets to support negro rule, the Anglo-Saxon should never yield nor hesitate to do his duty.

By far the most glowing picture that Grady drew, however, was in his peroration, when he compared the prostrate South

to a wounded soldier lying on the battlefield at night among the dead, being sought out by the light of the glimmering surgeon's lantern, at first given up as beyond hope, and then carried in on a stretcher to the hospital on the desperate chance that, if he survived till the morrow's sundown, he might be saved.

This, said Grady, was precisely the plight in which the South found itself, and only by its own effort, assisted by God's providence, could it be saved.

Addressed to Southerners in the throes of a great struggle to save the only ray of hope that had come to them since the Civil War in the Democratic administration of Cleveland, it is easy to see how this speech moved its hearers to run through the whole gamut of human emotions. Perhaps, it was not needed to hold together the Solid South, but Grady knew that it would be heard throughout the nation; and so it was, creating everywhere a better understanding of the Southern problem. Though it could not change the result of the election, it opened the door to Grady for many a future triumph and contributed largely to the peaceful solution of problems that it touched.

HENRY W. GRADY: THE SOUTH AND HER PROBLEMS

OCTOBER 26, 1888

I am glad that I can speak a few words to the young men of Texas. Men, especially young men, look back for their inspirations to what is best in their traditions. Thermopylae cast Spartan sentiment in heroic mold and sustained Spartan arms for more than a century. Thermopylae had survivors to tell the story of its defeat. The Alamo had none. Though voiceless, it shall speak from its dumb walls. Liberty cried out to Texas, as God called from the clouds unto Moses.

Bowie and Fannin, though dead, still live. Their voices rang above the din of Goliad and the glory of San Jacinto, and they marched with the Texas veterans who rejoiced at the birth of Texas independence. It is the spirit of the Alamo that moved above the Texas soldiers as they charged like demigods through a thousand battlefields, and it is the spirit of the Alamo that whispers from their graves held in every State of the Union, ennobling their dust, their soil, that was crimsoned with their blood.

In the spirit of this inspiration and in the thrill of the amazing growth that surrounds you, my young friends, it will be strange if the young men of Texas do not carry the lone star into the heart of the struggle. The South needs her sons to-day more than when she summoned them to the forum to maintain her political supremacy, more than when the bugle called them to the field to defend issues put to the arbitrament of the sword. Her old body is instinct with appeal calling on us to come and give her fuller independence than she has ever sought in field or forum. It is ours to show that, as she prospered with slaves, she shall prosper still more with freemen; ours to see that, from the lists she entered in poverty, she shall emerge in prosperity; ours to carry the transcending traditions of the old South from which none of us can in honor or in reverence depart, unstained and unbroken into the new.

Shall we fail? Shall the blood of the old South—the best strain that ever uplifted human endeavor—that ran like water at duty's call and never stained where it touched—shall this blood that pours into our veins through a century luminous with achievement, for the first time falter and be driven back from irresolute heart, when the old South, that left us a better heritage in manliness and courage than in broad and rich acres, calls us to settle problems?

A soldier lay wounded on a hard-fought field; the roar of the battle had died away, and he rested in the deadly stillness of its aftermath. Not a sound was heard as he lay there, sorely smitten and speechless, but the shriek of wounded and the sigh of the dying soul, as it escaped from the tumult of earth into the unspeakable peace of the stars. Off over the field flickered the lanterns of the surgeons with the litter bearers, searching that they might take away those whose lives could be saved and leave in sorrow those who were doomed to die with pleading eyes through the darkness. This poor soldier watched, unable to turn or speak as the lantern drew near. At last the light flashed in his face, and the surgeon, with kindly face, bent over him, hesitated a moment, shook his head, and was gone, leaving the poor fellow alone with death. He watched in patient agony as they went from one part of the field to another.

As they came back, the surgeon bent over him again: "I believe if this poor fellow lives to sundown to-morrow, he will get well," and again leaving him, not to death but with hope; all night long these words fell into his heart as the dew fell from the stars upon his lips, "If he but lives till sundown, he will get well."

He turned his weary head to the east and watched for the coming sun. At last the stars went out, the east trembled with radiance, and the sun, slowly lifting above the horizon, tinged his pallid face with flame. He watched it inch by inch as it climbed slowly up the heavens. He thought of life, its hopes and ambitions, its sweetness and its raptures, and he fortified his soul against despair until the sun had reached high noon. It sloped down its slow descent, and his life was ebbing away and his heart was faltering, and he needed stronger stimulants to make him stand the struggle until the end of the day had come. He thought of his far-off home,

the blessed house resting in tranquil peace with the roses climbing to its door, and the trees whispering to its windows and dozing in the sunshine, the orchard and the little brook running like a silver thread through the forest.

"If I live till sundown, I will see it again. I will walk down the shady lane; I will open the battered gate, and the mocking bird shall call to me from the orchard, and I will drink again at the old mossy spring."

And he thought of the wife who had come from the neighboring farmhouse and put her hands in his, and brought sweetness to his life and light to his home.

"If I live till sundown, I shall look once more into her deep and loving eyes and press her brown head once more to my aching breast."

And he thought of the old father, patient in prayer, bending lower and lower every day under his load of sorrow and old age.

"If I but live till sundown, I shall see him again and wind my strong arm about his feeble body, and his hands shall rest upon my head while the unspeakable healing of his blessing falls into my heart."

And he thought of the little children that clambered on his knees and tangled their little hands into his heartstrings, making to him such music as the world shall not equal or heaven surpass.

"If I live till sundown, they shall again find my parched lips with their warm mouths, and their little fingers shall run once more over my face."

And he then thought of his old mother, who gathered these children about her and breathed her old heart afresh in their brightness and attuned her old lips anew to their prattle, that she might live till her big boy came home.

"If I live till sundown, I will see her again, and I will rest

my head at my old place on her knees, and weep away all memory of this desolate night." And the Sun of God, who died for men, bending from the stars, put the hand that had been nailed to the cross on the ebbing life and held on the stanch until the sun went down and the stars came out and shone down in the brave man's heart and blurred in his glistening eyes, and the lanterns of the surgeons came and he was taken from death to life.

The world is a battlefield strewn with the wrecks of government and institutions, of theories and of faiths, that have gone down in the ravage of years. On this field lies the South, sown with her problems. Upon this field swing the lanterns of God. Amid the carnage walks the Great Physician. Over the South He bends. "If ye but live until to-morrow's sun-down, ye shall endure, my countrymen." Let us, for her sake, turn our faces to the east and watch as the soldier watched for the coming sun. Let us stanch her wounds and hold steadfast. The sun mounts the skies. As it descends, let us minister to her and stand constant at her side for the sake of our children and of generations unborn that shall suffer if she fails. And when the sun has gone down and the day of her probation has ended and the stars have rallied her heart, the lanterns shall be swung over the field and the Great Physician shall lead her up from trouble into content, from suffering into peace, from death to life.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF GRADY'S SPEECH ON THE SOLID SOUTH

Grady was once introduced to an admiring audience as the "most consummate optimist" of all the Southern leaders who were active in the building-up of a New South; and much needed was this optimism of his on the Thanksgiving Day of 1888 following Cleveland's recent defeat and Harrison's vic-

tory in the presidential election of that year, when the whole South was thrown into gloom by the result, which Grady attempted to lighten in his address on *The Solid South*, delivered to many thousands of Georgians and South Carolinians, at the Augusta Exposition, on the banks of the Savannah.

Though President Harrison had said, soon after his election, that the South should not suffer, but should prosper in his election, Grady found it hard to overlook the threat of General Sherman, that millions in the North would assist the negro, if he struck a blow with torch or dagger to maintain his voting privilege; and he found it still harder to overlook the sentiment expressed by certain Northern editors.

Especially was he incensed by an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, saying: "The trouble is, the blacks will not fight for themselves. White men, or Indians, situated as the negroes, would have made the rivers of the South run red with blood before they would submit to the usurpations and wrongs which the blacks passively endure. Oppressed by generations of slavery, the negroes are non-combatants. They will not shoot and burn for their rights."

This sentiment, he thought, was "unspeakable infamy," inviting the negroes of the South to "repeat the horrors of Haiti"; yet, on Thanksgiving Day, at the Augusta Exposition, he sought to discover a glimmering light of hope in the surrounding gloom, and to steel his Southern brethren, by an appeal for continued solidarity of the white vote, to meet the impending danger of a new negro domination.

Speaking on the theme of *The Solid South*, he declared that "the South is now confronted by two dangers: *First*, that, by remaining solid, it will force a permanent sectional alignment, under which, being in minority, it has nothing to gain and everything to lose; *second*, that, by dividing, it will debauch

its political system, destroy the defenses of its social integrity, and put the balance of power in the hands of an ignorant and dangerous class."

Admitting fully the evils involved in the first alternative, he went on to prove conclusively that the evils involved in the second were far worse. The North, he said, maintained that the negro vote was suppressed by violence or miscounted by fraud; but the truth of this charge in the last election he denied; and he insisted strongly that the South should be allowed to solve her own race problem without Federal interference. To this end, he appealed for a continuation of the Solid South, disparaging all efforts to drive a wedge between adherents of the Old, and the New, South, and imploring the grace of God to heal with His wisdom and His mercy the wounds of sectional strife.

Throughout this speech the reader of to-day finds the germs of thought and of expression that developed one year later in Grady's magnificent plea to a Boston audience on *The Race Problem of the South*—a speech that marked the brilliant climax of his career—but in this speech on *The Solid South*, there is one grand passage in defense of the old men of the South, that has no echo elsewhere in Grady's published works, and which alone would establish beyond peradventure Grady's exalted rank as an orator of the most sublime eloquence.

HENRY W. GRADY: THE SOLID SOUTH

NOVEMBER 29, 1888

In working out our civil, political, and religious salvation, everything depends on the union of our people. The man who seeks to divide them now in the hour of their trial, that man puts ambition before patriotism. A distinguished gentle-

man said that "certain upstarts and speculators were seeking to create a new South to the derision and disparagement of the old," and rebukes them for so doing. These are cruel and unjust words. It was Ben Hill—the music of whose voice hath not deepened, though now attuned to the symphonies of the skies—who said, "There was a South of secession and slavery—that South is dead; there is a South of Union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, growing every hour."

It was he who named the New South, and one of the "upstarts" said in a speech in New York: "In answering the toast to the New South, I accept that name in no disparagement to the Old South. Dear to me, sir, is the home of my childhood and the traditions of my people, and not for the glories of New England history from Plymouth Rock all the way, would I surrender the least of these. Never shall I do, or say, aught to dim the luster of the glory of my ancestors, won in peace and war."

Where is the young man in the South who has spoken one word in disparagement of our past, or has worn lightly the sacred traditions of our fathers? The world has not equaled the unquestioning reverence and undying loyalty of the young man of the South to the memory of our fathers. History has not equaled the cheerfulness and heroism with which they bestirred themselves amid the poverty that was their legacy, and holding the inspiration of their past to be better than rich acres and garnered wealth, went out to do their part in rebuilding the fallen fortunes of the South and restoring her fields to their pristine beauty.

Wherever they have driven,—in the market-place, putting youth against experience, poverty against capital; in the shop, earning in the light of their forges and the sweat of their

faces the bread and meat for those dependent upon them; in the forum eloquent by instinct, able though unlettered; on the farm, locking the sunshine in their harvests and spreading the showers on their fields—everywhere my heart has been with them, and I thank God that they are comrades and countrymen of mine. I have stood with them shoulder to shoulder as they have met new conditions without surrendering old faiths—and I have been content to feel the grasp of their hands and the throb of their hearts, and hear the music of their quick step as they marched unfearing into new and untried ways.

If I should attempt to prostitute the generous enthusiasm of these my comrades to my own ambition, I should be unworthy. If any man, enwrapping himself in the sacred memories of the Old South, should prostitute them to the hiding of his weakness, or the strengthening of his failing fortunes, that man would be unworthy. If any man for his own advantage should seek to divide the old South from the new, or the new from the old,—to separate these that in love hath been joined together,—to estrange the son from his father's grave and turn our children from the monuments of our dead, to embitter the closing days of our veterans with suspicion of the sons who shall follow them,—this man's words are unworthy and are spoken to the injury of his people.

Some one has said in derision that the old men of the South, sitting down amid their ruins, reminded him "of the Spanish hidalgos sitting in the porches of the Alhambra." There is pathos, but no derision, in this picture to me. These men were our fathers. Their lives were stainless. Their hands were daintily cast, and the civilization they builded in tender and engaging grace hath not been equaled. The scenes amid which they moved, as princes among men, have vanished

forever. A grosser and more material day has come, in which their gentle hands can garner but scantily, and their guileless hearts fend but feebly. Let them sit, therefore, in the dismantled porches of their homes, into which dishonor hath never entered, to which discourtesy is a stranger—and gaze out to the sea, beyond the horizon of which their armada has drifted forever. And though the sea shall not render back for them the argosies that went down in their ships, let us build for them in the land they love so well a stately and enduring temple—its pillars founded in justice, its arches springing to the skies, its treasures filled with substance; liberty walking in its corridors; art adorning its walls; religion filling its aisles with incense,—and here let them rest in honorable peace and tranquility until God shall call them hence to “a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”

HISTORICAL SETTING OF GRADY'S SPEECH ON THE FARMER AND THE CITIES

The eloquence of Henry W. Grady, like that of Robert G. Ingersoll, is filled with beautiful passages that are veritable prose-poems; and, nowhere, among his speeches, is this eloquence of poetic imagination more evident than in his address to a meeting of the Farmers' Alliance, on *The Farmer and the Cities*, delivered in the open air at Elberton, Georgia, in June, 1889. Yet this speech, so filled with poetic rhapsody, is not merely a fine piece of rhetoric: it is also one of his best political arguments and most subtly persuasive appeals for loyalty to the New South, and to the Solid South, in opposition to the centralizing tendencies of the entrenched Republican regime.

At the time this speech was delivered, the South, like the

Far West, was suffering from the poverty created by farm mortgages and consequent subserviency to Northern and Eastern bankers in New York and Boston; and, revolting against this condition, it had given birth to a vast secret and pledge-bound organization, known as the Southern Farmers' Alliance, which in co-operation with a similar organization in the North and West, was fast drifting into politics to form the Populist party in protest against the capitalistic tenets of both the Republican, and the Democratic, parties.

With the aspirations of the Farmers' Alliance to impose an income tax on colossal fortunes, to check the growth of trusts and monopolies, and to provide government loans for farmers, Grady had much sympathy; but he had no sympathy whatsoever with a movement that would split the Democratic party and destroy the Solid South, preferring rather to depend upon thrift and frugality in the home to restore among Southern farmers their old-time independence and prosperity.

This was, therefore, the message that he carried far and wide to Georgia farmers throughout the spring and summer of 1889; and this was the theme of his famous address delivered at the barbecue of farmers assembled from all over the county in which Elberton was situated.

Cleverly turning the farmers' argument into Democratic doctrine of hostility to Republican proposals for a high protective tariff and for extravagant pensions that would benefit only Northern veterans, he tactfully led his auditors to a consideration of homely remedies for their common ills in lieu of organizing a third party; and, therein, he gave to them, and to the world, an unsurpassed description of the comparative power residing in the marble halls of the nation's capital and in the humble homes of the people.

To Grady, this theme of home-life on the farm was most

alluring; for, as Joel Chandler Harris has said, it was a matter on which his mind loved to dwell. "There was that in his nature," said Harris, "to which both sun and soil appealed. The rain falling on a fallow field, the sun shining on the bristling and waving corn, and the gentle winds of heaven blowing over all—he was never tired of talking of these, and his talk always took the shape of a series of picturesque descriptions. He appreciated their spiritual essence as well as their material meaning, and he surrendered himself entirely to all the wholesome suggestions that spring from the contemplation of rural scenes."

During that very year, in fact, Grady's passion for country life had led him to commission one of the composers in his newspaper-office to purchase a farm for him; and, though his dream of being a gentleman-farmer was never realized, he took delight, nevertheless, in making romantic plans for this ideal farm. On this farm, there was to be "an old-fashioned spring in a clump of large oak-trees"; there were to be "meadows of orchard grass and clover, through which mild-eyed Jerseys were to wander at will"; and in front of the house, there was to be "a barley patch, gloriously green, and a colt frolicking and capering in it."

"The farm was a dream," says Harris, "but Grady, no doubt, got more enjoyment and profit out of it than a great many prosy people get out of the farms that are real. Insubstantial as it was, Mr. Grady's farm served to relieve the tension of a mind that was always busy with the larger affairs of this busy and stirring age; and, many a time, when he grew tired of the incessant demands on his time and patience, he would close the door of his room with a bang and instruct the office-boy to tell all callers that he had 'gone to his farm.' The fat cows that grazed there lowed their welcome, the

chickens cackled to see him come, and the colt capered nimbly in the green expanse of barley—children of his dreams all, but all grateful and restful to a busy mind.”

For a man so constituted, it was easy to construct impromptu the idyllic description of a farmer's home that appears in his speech at Elberton. But, though this description is not equaled in modern literature for its effectiveness and pathos, according to the verdict of Joel Chandler Harris, himself a writer of fame on rural life; it is not the only claim of the speech at Elberton to eloquence of the highest order; for, judged by its effect, in an unbroken Solid South at the next election in 1892, when the crest of the wave in the Populist movement was attained, this speech proves that it had, not only a high literary value, but also a highly practical value in the realm of national politics as well.

HENRY W. GRADY: THE FARMER AND THE CITIES

JUNE, 1889

Ladies and Gentlemen: There are serious problems that beset our State and our country that no man, facing, as I do this morning, a great and intelligent audience, can in honor or in courage disregard. I shall attempt to make no brilliant speech, but to counsel with you in plain and simple words, beseeching your attention and your sympathy as to the dangers of the present hour, and our duties and our responsibilities.

At Saturday noon in any part of this country you may note the farmer going from his field, eating his dinner thoughtfully, and then saddling his plow horse, or starting afoot and making his way to a neighboring church or schoolhouse. There he finds from every farm, through every footpath, his neighbors gathering to meet him. What is the object of this meeting?

It is not social, it is not frolic, it is not a picnic—the earnest, thoughtful faces, the serious debate and council, the closed doors and the secret session, forbid this assumption. It is a meeting of men who feel that in spite of themselves their affairs are going wrong; of free and equal citizens who feel that they carry unequal burdens; of toilers who feel that they reap not the just fruits of their toil; of men who feel that their labor enriches others while it leaves them poor, and that the sweat of their bodies, shed freely under God's command, goes to clothe the idle and the avaricious in purple and fine linen. This is a meeting of protest, of resistance. Here the farmer meets to demand, and organize that he may enforce his demand, that he shall stand equal with every other class of citizens; that laws discriminating against him shall be repealed; that the methods oppressing him shall be modified or abolished; and that he shall be guaranteed that neither government nor society shall abridge, by statute or custom, his just and honest proportion of the wealth he created, but that he shall be permitted to garner in his barns, and to enjoy by his hearthstone, the full and fair fruits of his labor.

The agricultural army of the Republic is in motion. The rallying drumbeat has rolled over field and meadow, and from where the wheat locks the sunshine in its bearded sheaf, and the clover carpets the earth, and the cotton whitens beneath the stars, and the tobacco catches the quick aroma of the rains,—everywhere that patient man stands above the soil, or bends over the furrow, the farmers are ready in squads and companies and battalions and legions to be led against what they hold to be an oppression that honest men would not deserve, and that brave men would not endure.

It will not do to say that this organization will pass away; for if the discontent on which it is based survives it, it had

better have lived and forced its wrongs to final issue. There is no room for divided hearts in this State, or in this Republic. If we shall restore Georgia to her former greatness and prosperity—if we shall solve the problems that beset the South in honor and safety—if we shall save this Republic from the dangers that threaten it—it will require the earnest and united effort of every patriotic citizen, be he farmer, or merchant, or lawyer, or manufacturer.

I believe the government can protect its citizens. It is of the people, and it shall not perish from the face of the earth. It can top off colossal fortunes, and, by an income tax, retard their growth. It can set a limit to personal and corporate wealth. It can take trusts and syndicates by the throat. It can shatter monopoly; it can equalize the burden of taxation; it can distribute its privileges impartially; it can clothe with credit its land now discredited at its banks; it can lift the burdens from the farmer's shoulders, give him equal strength to bear them—it can trust the people in whose name this Republic was founded; in whose courage it was defended; in whose wisdom it has been administered, and whose stricken love and confidence it cannot survive.

But the government, no matter what it does, does not do all that is needed, nor the most; that is conceded, for all true reform must begin with the people at their homes. A few Sundays ago I stood on a hill in Washington. My heart thrilled as I looked on the towering marble of my country's Capitol, and a mist gathered in my eyes as, standing there, I thought of its tremendous significance and the powers there assembled, and the responsibilities there centered—its President, its Congress, its courts, its gathered treasure, its army, its navy, and its sixty millions of citizens. It seemed to me the best and mightiest sight that the sun could find in its

wheeling course—this majestic home of a Republic that has taught the world its best lessons of liberty—and I felt that if wisdom and justice and honor abided therein, the world would stand indebted to this temple on which my eyes rested, and in which the ark of my covenant was lodged for its final uplifting and regeneration.

A few days later, I visited a country home. A modest, quiet house sheltered by great trees and set in a circle of field and meadow, gracious with the promise of harvest; barns and cribs were filled, and the old smokehouse odorous with treasure; the fragrance of pink and hollyhock mingling with the aroma of garden and orchard, and resonant with the hum of bees and poultry's busy clucking; inside the house, thrift, comfort, and that cleanliness that is next to godliness,—the restful beds, the open fireplace, the books and papers, and the old clock that had held its steadfast pace amid the frolic of weddings, that has welcomed in steady measure the newborn babes of the family, and kept company with the watchers of the sick bed, and had ticked the solemn requiem of the dead; and the well-worn Bible that, thumbed by fingers long since stilled, and blurred with tears of eyes long since closed, held the simple annals of the family, and the heart and conscience of the home.

Outside stood the master, strong and wholesome and upright; wearing no man's collar, with no mortgage on his roof, and no lien on his ripening harvest; pitching his crops in his own wisdom, and selling them in his own time in his chosen market; master of his lands and master of himself. Near-by stood his aged father, happy in the heart and home of his son. And as they started to the house, the old man's hands rested on the young man's shoulder, touching it with the knighthood of the fourth commandment, and laying there the unspeak-

able blessing of an honored and grateful father. As they drew near the door, the old mother appeared; the sunset falling on her face, softening its wrinkles and its tenderness, lighting up her patient eyes, and the rich music of her heart trembling on her lips, as in simple phrase she welcomed her husband and son to their home. Beyond was the good wife, true of touch and tender, happy amid her household cares, clean of heart and conscience, the helpmate and the buckler of her husband. And the children strong and sturdy, trooping down the lane with the lowing herd, or weary of simple sport, seeking, as truant birds do, the quiet of the old home nest.

And I saw the night descend on that home, falling gently as from the wings of the unseen dove. And the stars swarmed in the bending skies, the trees thrilled with the cricket's cry, the restless bird called from the neighboring wood, and the father, a simple man of God, gathering the family about him, read from the Bible the old, old story of love and faith, and then went down in prayer, the baby hidden amid the folds of its mother's dress, and closed the record of that simple day by calling down the benediction of God on the family and the home!

And as I gazed the memory of the great Capitol faded from my brain. Forgotten its treasure and its splendor. And I said, "Surely here—here in the homes of the people is lodged the ark of the covenant of my country. Here is its majesty and its strength. Here the beginning of its power and the end of its responsibility." The homes of the people; let us keep them pure and independent, and all will be well with the Republic. Here is the lesson our foes may learn—here is the work the humblest and weakest hands may do. Let us in simple thrift and economy make our homes independent. Let us in frugal industry make them self-sustaining. In sacrifice

and denial, let us keep them free from debt and obligation. Let us make them homes of refinement. Let us make them temples of liberty, and teach our sons that an honest conscience is every man's first political law; that his sovereignty rests beneath his hat, and that no splendor can rob him and no force justify the surrender of the simplest right of a free and independent citizen.

The home is the source of our national life. Back of the national Capitol and above it stands the home. Back of the President and above him stands the citizen. What the home is, this and nothing else will the Capitol be. What the citizen wills, this and nothing else will the President be.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF GRADY'S SPEECH ON THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

During the memorial exercises for Henry W. Grady at Macon, Georgia, one of the speakers gave expression to a sentiment concerning Grady's eloquence that is probably universally accepted throughout the South. "Since Appomattox," said this orator, "two historic speeches have been made by Southern men; the one was that delivered in Congress upon the proposition to strike from the general amnesty of the government the name of Jefferson Davis, when Benjamin H. Hill broke the knightliest lance ever shivered in a people's honor, full on the haughty crest of the 'plumed knight'; the other was the Boston speech of Mr. Grady, which, like a magic key, will yet unlock the shackles that have so long manacled a people, who, strangest paradox in history, were enslaved by the emancipation of their slaves. The logic of Hill was powerful as the club of Hercules; the eloquence of Grady was irresistible as the lyre of Orpheus."

This second great triumph of Southern eloquence to which the speaker referred was Grady's speech on *The Race Problem in the South* delivered in Boston, before the Merchants' Association of that city, on December 13, 1889, just ten days before his death, contracted from pneumonia as the result of exposure to cold in the Northern city.

Why the South felt as they did about this speech was due to the fact that, at this time, loyal leaders of the New South, struggling valiantly with a baffling race problem, were in sore need of a masterful and conciliatory spokesman to win sympathy at the North for their efforts to solve this problem without Federal interference; for, at the time this speech was delivered, the critical moment had arrived when Northern Republicans were threatening to enact another *Force Bill* to protect with bayonets the voting privilege of Southern negroes.

Since 1884, such a measure had been under contemplation, but only with assured Republican majorities in both Houses of Congress after the election of 1888 was it considered feasible. The Republican platform of that year had attributed the previous election of Cleveland and the former Democratic majorities in Congress to "the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and the laws of the United States"; and, in March, 1889, as well as in December of the same year, President Harrison, by his inaugural, and by his first message to Congress, had called attention to the negro problem, saying of the Southern efforts to solve it: "Are they at work upon it? What solution do they offer? When will the black man cast a free ballot, and when will he have the civil rights that are his?"

Not only Northern politicians, but Northern editors also thought that some solution for this problem must be found at once. By the suppression of the negro vote, they claimed

that the Republicans had lost twenty-four seats in the House and thirty-eight votes in the Electoral College. Due to this same cause, they said, that in the South the vote of one white man was equivalent to the vote of five white men in the North; and they were especially bitter over the fact that, in 1886, it took only twenty-seven thousand votes to elect ten Congressmen from Georgia; whereas, in the same year, it took fifty-four thousand votes to elect one Congressman from Oregon.

Before the Civil War, they said the South received representation in Congress for the non-voting negroes as slaves on the basis that each negro was equivalent to two-thirds of a man; and now the South received representation for these same non-voting negroes as freemen on the basis that each negro was equivalent to a full man. Hence, by emancipation and by subsequent negro disfranchisement, the Southern whites, Democrats, and ex-Confederates, they claimed, had acquired a more unfair and disproportionate influence in national politics than they had wielded before the war; and, of course, these Northern editors raised the cry of *who won the war anyway?* -- and would the North tamely submit to having the fruits of its victory stolen from under its very eyes?

Because of widespread public pressure in the North, therefore, President Harrison had urged in his message of December, 1889, that Congress should pass a *Federal Election Law* for Congressional districts; and this part of his message was referred for action to a committee of the House, over which Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts presided as chairman.

It was at this critical moment for the South, that Henry W. Grady received his invitation to appear in Boston, the home of Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips, and there, before the Merchants' Association of that city, to present his views of the race problem in the South.

He knew that this invitation had been extended to him in consequence of his great triumph for conciliation three years before at the New England Society's meeting in New York; and he knew that, on this occasion, another great triumph was expected of him by all his friends throughout the North and South.

Being oppressed by the heavy responsibility that seemed to rest almost solely upon his shoulders, Grady undertook the preparation of this Boston speech with unwonted labor and thoroughness, in a manner that resembles Patrick Henry's preparation for his last great speech on *The British Debts Case*. Sending his servants away, Grady locked himself in his room, and would not tolerate interruption from any source, until at last he emerged with a speech, impressed upon his mind as he had penned it down, that was in form and substance worthy of the cause he had at heart.

Then boarding a train, with a bodyguard of eminent Georgians, anxious to hear his defense of the South, he journeyed, for the first time, into the very heart of New England, as an unofficial ambassador of the Solid South, which was ready to back him unanimously in all his efforts to bring about a better understanding in the North of the South's peculiar problem.

The citizens of Massachusetts received with every courtesy this Southern delegation; and, gathering about their banquet-table in Boston many of the eminent statesmen of New England, with ex-President Cleveland as an honored guest, they hailed with enthusiasm the brilliant spokesman of Southern Democracy.

Standing there, then, in the presence of this Boston audience, in the shadow of Bunker Hill, and within easy reach of Plymouth Rock,—where, before him, "Webster thundered and Longfellow sang, where Emerson thought and Channing

preached—in the cradle of American letters and almost of American liberty”—Grady appeared as the living impersonation of Southern statesmanship and Southern eloquence.

The speech he delivered on this occasion, in the halls of his adversaries, did exactly what Grady hoped it might do. Fulfilling perfectly the expectations of his friends at home, it “melted away the most hardened prejudice,” so said a report in the *Albany Argus*—“and enkindled in the New England heart the spirit of respect and sympathy for the brave, single-minded people of the South, who are so patiently and determinedly working out their destiny to make their beautiful land the abode of unalloyed peace and prosperity.”

In similar vein, the *Boston Globe* recorded its admiration for Grady's speech, when, it said after his death, that “only ten days ago, his fervid oratory rang out in a Boston banquet hall, and enchanted the hundreds of Boston's business men who heard it. . . . His silvery speech and graphic imagery opened the minds of thousands of influential men of the North to a truer conception of the South; for he had shown them that the Old South was a memory only; and that the New South was a reality. He had done more than any other man to open the eyes of the North to the peerless natural advantages of his section, so that streams of capital began to flow southward to develop these resources.”

Only the *Boston Advertiser* expressed a doubt of Grady's carrying conviction to his audience on the race question; but, as a Georgia paper said, Grady's words “had rung from Boston to San Francisco.” The *Advertiser* may appear to have been right, when we examine history and find Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts pressing through the lower House of Congress, in the following June, the hated *Force Bill*; but the Georgia paper appears to have struck the truth more nearly,

when we find that this same *Force Bill* was defeated in the Senate by the suddenly acquired indifference of Senator George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts, and by the arguments of two Republican Senators from Pennsylvania, who followed precisely the reasoning advanced by Grady in his Boston speech.

The praise of an adversary, however, is the very highest praise; and even the *Boston Advertiser* was willing to say, that "the address, considered in all respects, was superior to that which he delivered in New York, and which won for him a national reputation. . . . It rose far above the ordinary after-dinner speech, and the impression made by it is still strong. . . . It was, in fact, one of the finest specimens of elegant and fervid oratory which this generation has heard."

This last statement is in complete accord with the judgment of Grady's friendly critic, Joel Chandler Harris, who says of the Boston speech, that "it was Grady's last, as it was his best, contribution to the higher politics of the country—the politics that are above partisanry and self-seeking. That speech," said he, "as it stands, reaches the high-water mark of modern oratory."

HENRY W. GRADY: THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

DECEMBER 13, 1889

Mr. President: Bidden by your invitation to a discussion of the race problem—forbidden by occasion to make a political speech—I appreciate in trying to reconcile orders with propriety the predicament of the little maid, who, bidden to learn to swim, was yet adjured, "Now, go, my darling, hang your clothes on a hickory limb, and don't go near the water."

The stoutest apostle of the church, they say, is the missionary, and the missionary, wherever he unfurls his flag, will

never find himself in deeper need of unction and address than I, bidden tonight to plant the standard of a Southern Democrat in Boston's banquet hall, and to discuss the problem of the races in the home of Phillips and of Sumner.

Three years ago, sir, I spoke some words in New York that caught the attention of the North. As I stand here to re-iterate, as I have done everywhere, every word I then uttered—to declare that the sentiments I then avowed were universally approved in the South—I realize that the confidence begotten by that speech is largely responsible for my presence here tonight; and I should dishonor myself if I betrayed that confidence by uttering one insincere word or by withholding one essential element of the truth.

The President of the United States in his late message to Congress, discussing the plea that the South should be left to solve this problem, asks: "Are they at work upon it? What solution do they offer? When will the black man cast a free ballot? When will he have the civil rights that are his?"

I shall not here protest against the partisanry that, for the first time in our history in time of peace, has stamped with the great seal of our government a stigma upon the people of a great and loyal section, though I gratefully remember that the great dead soldier, who held the helm of state for the eight stormy years of Reconstruction, never found need for such a step; and though there is no personal sacrifice I would not make to remove his cruel and unjust imputation on my people from the archives of my country!

But, sir, backed by a record on every page of which is progress, I venture to make earnest and respectful answer to the questions that are asked. When will the black man cast a free ballot? When ignorance anywhere is not dominated by the will of the intelligent; when the laborer anywhere

casts a vote unhindered by his boss; when the vote of the poor anywhere is not influenced by the power of the rich; when the strong and the steadfast do not everywhere control the suffrage of the weak and shiftless—then and not till then will the ballot of the negro be free.

The negro can never control in the South, and it would be well if partisans in the North would understand this. It was just as certain that Virginia would come back to the unchallenged control of her white race as that the night should fade in the kindling glory of the sun. You may pass force bills, but they will not avail. You may surrender your own liberties to Federal election law; you may submit, in fear of a necessity that does not exist, that the very form of this government may be changed—this old State that holds in its charter the boast that “it is a free and independent commonwealth”—it may deliver its election machinery into the hands of the government it helped to create—but never, sir, will a single State of this Union, North or South, be delivered again to the control of an ignorant and inferior race. We wrested our State government from negro supremacy when the Federal drumbeat rolled closer to the ballot box and Federal bayonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government. But, sir, though the cannon of this Republic thundered in every voting district of the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and the courage to prevent its re-establishment!

I regret, sir, that my section, hindered with this problem, stands in seeming estrangement to the North. If, sir, any man will point out to me the path down which the white people of the South divided may walk in peace and honor, I will take that path though I take it alone—for at the end, and nowhere else, I fear is to be found the full prosperity of my section

and the full restoration of this Union. But, sir, if the negro had not been enfranchised, the South would have been divided and the Republic united.

What solution, then, can we offer for this problem? Time alone can disclose it to us. We simply report progress and ask your patience. If the problem be solved at all—and I firmly believe it will, though nowhere else has it been—it will be solved by the people most deeply bound in interest, most deeply pledged in honor to its solution. I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Caesar fought.

Meantime we treat the negro fairly, measuring to him in the fullness the strong should give to the weak, and leading him in the steadfast ways of citizenship that he may no longer be the prey of the unscrupulous and the sport of the thoughtless. We open to him every pursuit in which he can prosper, and seek to broaden his training and capacity. We seek to hold his confidence and friendship, and to pin him to the soil with ownership, that he may catch in the fire of his own hearthstone that sense of responsibility the shiftless can never know. And we gather him into that alliance of intelligence and responsibility that, though it now runs close to racial lines, welcomes the responsible and intelligent of any race. By this course, confirmed in our judgment and justified in the progress already made, we hope to progress slowly but surely to the end.

The love we feel for that race you cannot measure nor comprehend. As I attest it here, the spirit of my old black mammy from her home up there looks down to bless, and through the tumult of this night steals the sweet music of her croonings as thirty years ago she held me in her black arms and led me

smiling into sleep. This scene vanishes as I speak, and I catch a vision of an old Southern home, with its lofty pillars, and its white pigeons fluttering down through the golden air. I see women with strained and anxious faces, and children alert yet helpless. I see night come down with its dangers and its apprehensions, and in a big homely room I feel on my tired head the touch of loving hands, now worn and wrinkled, but fairer to me yet than the hands of mortal man—as they lay a mother's blessing there while at her knees, the truest altar I yet have found, I thank God that she is safe in her sanctuary, because her slaves, sentinel in the silent cabin or guard at her chamber door, put a black man's loyalty between her and danger.

I catch another vision. The crisis of battle—a soldier struck, staggering, fallen. I see a slave, scuffling through the smoke, winding his black arms about the fallen form, reckless of the hurtling death, bending his trusty face to catch the words that tremble on the stricken lips, so wrestling meantime with agony that he would lay down his life in his master's stead. I see him by the weary bedside, ministering with uncomplaining patience, praying with all his humble heart that God will lift his master up, until death comes in mercy and in honor to still the soldier's agony and seal the soldier's life. I see him by the open grave, mute, motionless, uncovered, suffering for the death of him who in life fought against his freedom. I see him when the mound is heaped and the great drama of his life is closed, turn away and with downcast eyes and uncertain step start out into new and strange fields, faltering, struggling, but moving on, until his shambling figure is lost in the light of this better and brighter day. And from the grave comes a voice saying: "Follow him! Put your arms about him in his need, even as he put his about me. Be his

friend as he was mine." And out into this new world—strange to me as to him, dazzling, bewildering both—I follow! And may God forget my people when they forget these.

Whatever the future may hold for them—whether they plod along in the servitude from which they have never been lifted since the Cyrenian was laid hold upon by the Roman soldiers and made to bear the cross of the fainting Christ; whether they find homes again in Africa, and thus hasten the prophecy of the psalmist who said, "And suddenly Ethiopia shall hold out her hands unto God"; whether, forever dislocated and separated, they remain a weak people beset by stronger, and exist as the Turk, who lives in the jealousy rather than in the conscience of Europe; or whether in this miraculous Republic they break through the caste of twenty centuries and, belying universal history, reach the full stature of citizenship, and in peace maintain it—we shall give them uttermost justice and abiding friendship. And whatever we do, into whatever seeming estrangement we may be driven, nothing shall disturb the love we bear this Republic, or mitigate our consecration to its service.

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1. Grady: *The New South* (1886)—See Harris's *Life, Works, and Speeches of Grady* (Memorial Volume, 1890), 83-93; Shurter's *Orations and Speeches of Grady* (1910), 7-22; Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1903) VIII, 579-589; O'Neill's *Models of Speech Composition* (1921), 577-584.
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4. Grady: *The Solid South* (1888)—See Harris, 121-141; Shurter, 65-97.

5. Grady: *Against Centralization* (1889)—See Harris, 142-157; Shurter, 134-157.
6. Grady: *The Farmer and the Cities* (1889)—See Harris, 158-179; Shurter, 158-191.
7. Grady: *The Race Problem in the South* (1889)—See Harris, 180-198; Shurter, 192-220; Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1903) II, 534-550; Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory* (1906), 214-233; O'Neill's *Models of Speech Composition* (1921), 585-597.
8. Grady: *Plymouth Rock and Democracy* (1889)—See Harris, 199-207; Shurter (1910), 221-233.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

See Bassett's *Short History of U. S.*; Dewey's *National Problems*; Elson's *History of U. S.*; Lingley's *Since the Civil War*; Oberholtzer's *History of U. S. Since Civil War*; Paxson's *Recent History of U. S.*; Rhodes's *History of U. S.*

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Grady, Henry W.—See biographical sketches in Harris's *Grady*; Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*; *The Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta, 1907); Fulton and Trueblood's *British and American Eloquence*.
 Hill, Benjamin H.—See biographical sketches in Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*; *The Library of Southern Literature*.
 Lamar, Lucius Q. C.—See biographies by Mayes, and Galloway.
 Stephens, Alexander H.—See biographies by Johnston and Browne, and Pendleton.
 Toombs, Robert—See biography by Stovall.

COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXTS

On Grady's *The New South*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Grady was familiar with: (1) Gray's *Elegy*, Stanza 16; (2) the title of Alexander H. Stephens's historical work?
- II. What is meant by: (1) Tammany Hall; (2) the battle-stained cross?
- III. Who were: (1) Benjamin H. Hill; (2) Doctor Talmage?
- IV. What is the story of: (1) the military campaigns around Atlanta in 1864; (2) Lee's surrender at Appomattox; (3) Grant's death?
- V. What is the explanation of: (1) Hill's being in the vicinity of Tammany

Hall in 1866; (2) Webster's appeal for Union in the speech from which Grady quoted?

On Grady's *The South and Her Problems*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Grady was familiar with: (1) *Exodus*, 24:15-18; (2) Ingersoll's *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child*; (3) Ingersoll's *Vision of War*?
- II. What is the story of: (1) Thermopylae; (2) the Alamo; (3) Goliad; (4) San Jacinto?
- III. Who were: (1) Bowie; (2) Fannin?—See Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of Am. Biog.*

On Grady's *The Solid South*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Grady was familiar with: (1) *Second Corinthians*, 5:1?
- II. What is the Alhambra?
- III. What is the story of the defeat of the Spanish Armada?—See Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*.

On Grady's *The Farmer and the Cities*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Grady was familiar with: (1) *Genesis*, 3:10; (2) *Exodus*, 30:27-29; (3) *First Kings*, 8:1-11; (4) *Chronicles*, 5:1-14; (5) Longfellow's *The Old Clock on the Stairs*; (6) Gray's *Elegy*, Stanza 8; (7) Longfellow's *Village Blacksmith*, Stanza 2, lines 6-8; (8) *Exodus*, 20:12; (9) Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night*, Stanzas 12-17; (10) Garfield's *Nomination of Sherman*; (11) Ingersoll's *Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child*; (12) *Second Kings*, 6:8-18?

On Grady's *The Race Problem in the South*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Grady was familiar with *Luke*, 23:26?
- II. What were the dates of: (1) the death of Sumner; (2) the death of Phillips; (3) the President's message mentioned by Grady?
- III. Who were: (1) the President of the United States; (2) the great dead soldier?
- IV. What is the meaning of the statement concerning the certainty of Virginia's return to unchallenged control of the white race?
- V. To what provision of the *Force Bill* does Grady make indirect reference?
- VI. What were: (1) the conspiracy of Catiline—See Plutarch's *Lives*; (2) the spoils over which Caesar fought; (3) Cyrene; (4) Ethiopia?
- VII. What indirect reference does Grady make to: (1) the Crimean War, the Treaty of San Stefano, and the Congress of Berlin—See Hazen's *Mod. European Hist.*, 543-550; (2) Liberia?
- VIII. In what *Psalms* does the prophecy concerning Ethiopia occur?

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM HENRY W. GRADY

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. abject 2. circumstance 3. complex 4. devastated 5. disparaging 6. feudal
7. ignoble 8. indissoluble 9. inscrutable 10. invests 11. oligarchs 12. omniscient 13. parole 14. pathos 15. statured 16. status 17. staunch

1. aftermath 2. arbitrament 3. carnage 4. demigods 5. duty 6. forum
7. lists 8. luminous 9. probation 10. stanch 11. unspeakable

1. argosies 2. armada 3. garner 4. grosser 5. guileless 6. heroism 7. hidalgos 8. pristine 9. salvation 10. symphonies

1. buckler 2. colossal 3. corporate 4. council 5. counsel 6. guaranteed
7. hearthstone 8. monopoly 9. trusts 10. syndicates

1. adjured 2. drama 3. imputation 4. influenced 5. mitigate 6. partisans
7. predicament 8. shambling 9. stigma 10. unction 11. un-crepulous

CHAPTER XVIII

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

BRYAN'S PLACE AMONG ORATORS OF THE ERA OF POPULIST REVOLT

For approximately three decades, between 1896 and 1925, William Jennings Bryan, the thrice nominated candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency, was one of the most conspicuous and powerful political and platform orators of America.

At first capturing the ear of the American public on the bitterly contested issue of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 during the campaign of 1896, he continued thereafter for years to provide the paramount issues in political campaigns and to direct public attention successfully to the problems of imperialism, anti-trust legislation, world-peace, prohibition, and Fundamentalism as opposed to Darwinian evolution.

Throughout the Rooseveltian era, throughout the Insurgent-Republican and Progressive revolt, and throughout the beginnings of Wilsonian Democracy, Bryan was conspicuous as an orator among the leaders of the Democratic party; but that period in which he stood almost without a rival in the field of political oratory was the middle of the decade of the nineties, when Cleveland was dethroned as the leader of the Democratic party and McKinley came into power as the standard-bearer of the Republicans.

William Jennings Bryan was always nominally a Democrat; but, at the outset, he was in reality a Populist; for, almost

without exception, he endorsed and upheld all the major doctrines for which that party stood. To understand the early oratory of Bryan, therefore, it is necessary to understand the history of the movement that culminated in the formation of the Populist party.

This party had its origin in the coalition of three important organizations known respectively as the Grangers, the Greenback party, and the Farmers' Alliance, which found their chief strength in the South and West, and which united in 1891 to force upon the nation a comprehensive program of radical reforms.

The Grange was a secret order founded in 1867 to combat the economic backwardness of farm life. It was opposed to the principle of a high tariff; it fought against so-called extortionate railway freight rates; and it proposed various measures to check the decline in wheat prices and the increase of farm mortgages.

The Greenback party, like the Grange, was the product of the post-war period of depression in agriculture. During the war, the country had been flooded with paper currency, that gave to the farms an unprecedented prosperity; but, when the war ceased and the government began to redeem its greenback paper currency, this artificially stimulated prosperity collapsed. Ready money almost disappeared from circulation in agricultural districts; and the Greenback party, composed largely of farmers, demanded the re-issuance of this form of legal tender in order that they might have some available means of transacting business.

Then, much like these other groups, was the Farmers' Alliance, with distinct branches in the North and South. This organization demanded the abolition of national banks, increased issues of greenbacks, the free coinage of silver, and

government ownership of all the means of transportation and intercourse.

When these three organizations united in 1891, at the time that Mr. Bryan first appeared in Congress, they had gained control of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, and they held the balance of power in Illinois, Minnesota and South Dakota.

In order to gain relief for the agricultural and mining communities of the West and South, this new party demanded the free coinage of silver; the abolition of national banks; an issue of gold and silver currency sufficient to permit the business of the country to be worked on a cash basis; the loan of money to the people at the rate of two per cent on the guarantee of agricultural crops; government ownership of railroads, canals, telegraphs, and telephones; a graduated income-tax; the direct election of Senators by the people; the adoption of the initiative and referendum; and the prohibition of the alien ownership of land.

Some parts of this program, after years of bitter conflict, have been enacted into law. Other parts probably never will be so enacted, and possibly never should be. In any case, however, there was no hope of enacting the entire program all at once. But, among these proposals, two became immediately the most outstanding issues of American politics in the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century. These were: the proposal to establish the free and unlimited coinage of silver; and that other project, to distribute more fairly the burdens of society by establishing a graduated Federal income-tax.

Since 1878, there had been an authorized limited coinage of silver: first, under the *Bland-Allison Act*, which permitted the coinage, per month, of not less than two million dollars, and not more than four million dollars in silver; and second,

under the *Sherman Silver Law* of 1890, which ordered the coinage, per month, of four million dollars in silver. Now the demand came, that all limitations as to amount should be abolished; but President Cleveland was opposed to such a move; and, when the financial panic of 1893 developed, Cleveland, to help out the situation, secured the repeal of the *Sherman Law* altogether, thus forcing the country to accept gold as the sole standard of money values.

This act of Congress, prompted by a Democratic administration, aroused indignant protests from the Populist party and from the Silver wings of both the Republican, and the Democratic, parties.

Great as was the consternation over this matter, however, it was fully equaled by the disappointment and rage that followed the first vain efforts to secure a graduated Federal income-tax law. Such a measure was incorporated in the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act* of 1894; but this part of the tariff bill was immediately contested in the courts; and, by two five-to-four decisions of the Federal Supreme Court, on April 8, and May 20, 1895, it was declared unconstitutional.

Thus, two of the great issues were framed for the campaign of 1896, when Mr. Bryan received the nomination of the Democratic party, and of the Populist party, for the presidency. In the debates of Congress over the repeal of the *Sherman Law*, Mr. Bryan had taken a conspicuous part, and he had been one of the foremost advocates of the proposal for the Federal income-tax. He was, therefore, well qualified to make either of these issues paramount in the campaign; and taking that one, which could be most readily settled by legislation of Congress, he made the free-silver question the great issue of the campaign.

During the bitter contest that ensued, William Jennings

Bryan rose to be one of the foremost political orators of America. Arrayed against him were such orators as William Bourke Cockran for the Gold-Democrats, Robert G. Ingersoll for the Gold-Republicans, and Carl Schurz for the Independents favoring a gold standard; while with him were arrayed such speakers as Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado representing the Silver-Republicans, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois, Senator "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia, representing the Silver-Democrats. But, among all these orators, he moved almost without a peer.

During the decade of the nineties, when Mr. Bryan enjoyed his pre-eminence as a political orator, such men as Horace Porter, Chauncey M. Depew, Henry W. Watterson, and Joseph H. Choate were also enjoying splendid reputations for great eloquence; but none of these men achieved such fame for swaying the masses as did the great standard-bearer of the Democratic party, who began his long career in statesmanship and oratory during the campaign of 1896 on the question of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

William Jennings Bryan, the great spokesman of the masses in the militant young Democracy of the West, was, between Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, the most dominating personality in the Democratic party—a man whose voice and presence were made familiar to all Americans for over a quarter of a century, on the stump, in political conventions, before Chautauquas, and in religious assemblies.

This noted speaker, who at first was called "the boy orator of the Platte," and afterwards the "peerless leader of Democ-

racy," and the "Great Commoner," was born in 1860 at Salem, Illinois. Educated at Illinois College, in Jacksonville, he acquired, even in his student days, an enviable reputation for eloquence; and, when graduated in 1881, he proceeded to study law at the Union College of Law in Chicago. Two years sufficed for this; and, in 1883, he began the practice of his profession in Jacksonville. He soon decided to go West, however; and, in 1887, he established a residence in Lincoln, Nebraska, where his success in law and politics won for him in 1890 an election to Congress, as a Democrat, representing an overwhelmingly Republican district.

At this time, the West was permeated with agrarian discontent that was coming to a head in the agitation of the Populist party; and Bryan, fully sympathizing with the new movement to check the growth of colossal fortunes by an income-tax, and to obtain relief for the poor farmer by the free coinage of silver, became its spokesman in the lower House of Congress.

He first attracted notice in that body by an eloquent speech in 1893 against the repeal of the *Sherman Silver Purchase Act* that had been passed in 1890. On this occasion, Rhodes, the historian, says, that he "so charmed his hearers by his attractive presence, pleasing manner of delivery, and clear, vibrant, and beautifully modulated voice, that the conventional limit of one hour for a speech was extended to unlimited time by unanimous consent."

At the completion of his second term, in the spring of 1895, it is safe to say, however, that Bryan was wholly unknown to the country-at-large. He failed of re-election to the lower House in 1894; and, in the following year, when he was a candidate for the Senate, he was also defeated by the Republican candidate, John M. Thurston, who subsequently won

distinction for his eloquence in pleading for intervention in Cuba, which meant war with Spain.

While out of office, however, in the year 1895, he was not idle. In June of that year he attended a conference at Memphis, Tennessee, the purpose of which was to organize the free-silver forces of the country. There he made a powerful speech; and then, following up this auspicious beginning, he set out to convert the masses of the people to his cause. Though he spoke in many different States, he devoted most of his energies to Nebraska with the object of securing a silver delegation to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, in July, 1896. The result was that, in this fight against the Gold-Democrats, he became the most conspicuous political leader of his State.

At Chicago, he presented himself as the leader of his State's silver delegation; but he found that an opposing delegation of Gold-Democrats had already been received. Before his delegation could be seated, therefore, in the convention, it was necessary for him to win over the hostile committee on credentials. This he accomplished, however, by a remarkably persuasive plea; and, finding himself at last admitted to the floor, he was ready to take part in the debate on the party platform.

By an address, known as *The Cross of Gold Speech*, which has never been equaled in convention oratory for its dynamic effect, Bryan defeated a movement to remove the silver plank from the party platform, and created for himself such unbounded admiration, that the next day he was nominated with frenzied enthusiasm as his party's candidate for the presidency.

The campaign, which, before, had promised to be a dull one, soon developed into one of the most exciting canvasses in our nation's history. Bryan, himself, took the lead on the

stump; and, between July and November, he traveled eighteen thousand miles, through twenty-seven different States, visiting 477 cities and towns, and delivering altogether 592 campaign speeches.

Though failing of election, Bryan still remained the idol of his party; and again, in 1900, on a free-silver and anti-imperialism platform, he was his party's candidate. Defeated again, he was unable to rouse enthusiasm for himself or his principles in the Democratic Convention of 1904; but, after a long absence from the country in foreign travel, Bryan returned in 1906 to be received with acclamation, and in 1908 was given once more the nomination of his party on an anti-trust and government-regulation platform.

Three times Bryan failed to win the presidency for himself; but, by his manipulation of delegates in the Baltimore Convention of 1912, he is given credit for securing the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, who did succeed in winning the great prize. Because of this favor, and because of Bryan's undoubted leadership of a large faction in the Democratic party, Wilson rewarded him by making him Secretary-of-State; and, for two years, these two prominent Democrats worked out in harmony a program for developing international peace by treaties of compulsory arbitration.

In 1915, however, Wilson and Bryan came to the parting of the ways; for Bryan believed that Wilson's notes to Germany would provoke war, and Wilson could no longer approve Bryan's policy of peace-at-any-price. Bryan, therefore, was forced to resign; and, henceforth, his political influence was to be felt only in the deliberations of the Democratic Conventions: at San Francisco, in 1920, as the advocate of peace and prohibition; and at New York, in 1924, as the opponent of Wall Street and the advocate of harmony between the McAdoo

faction representing the South and West, and the Smith faction representing the North and East.

In 1924, Bryan's race was nearly run, but in the summer of the following year, when he died at Dayton, Tennessee, he suddenly burst forth again into world-wide prominence by his connection with the Scopes trial, which was held in Tennessee to determine whether the law of that State forbidding the teaching of evolution in the public schools could be enforced. Bryan was engaged as a special prosecutor in this case, and was forced to meet in debate one of the most successful criminal lawyers of the country, Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago. Day after day, he withstood the tremendous strain of the contest; and then, when Mr. Darrow had out-maneuvred him, so that it was impossible for him to deliver the speech he had prepared, he finally succumbed to the excessive demands that were made upon his physical strength.

Amid the widespread lamentations of the conservative religious people of Tennessee, Bryan died on July 26, 1925.

Few orators have commanded greater admiration for their eloquence than has Bryan, and few have been permitted to come so near to ultimate victory in seeking their highest goal without attaining it. Yet Bryan's oratory was not wholly in vain; for, during his lifetime his appeal for popular government met a widespread response; his insistence upon the peaceful settlement of international disputes gained many adherents; and his views upon the prohibition question were written into law.

Many addresses made by William Jennings Bryan, such as his speech on *America's Mission* in 1899, his acceptance speech on *Imperialism* in 1900, his *Madison Square Speech* in 1906, and his lecture on *The Prince of Peace*, delivered literally hundreds of times, have contributed to his fame for eloquence;

but, when his whole career as an orator is reviewed by the future historian, no triumph of his eloquence will outrank the dazzling splendor of his achievement in obtaining, by his *Cross of Gold Speech* in 1896, the nomination of the Democratic party for the presidency of the United States.

In summing up the achievements of Mr. Bryan, Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska has said: "Although a private citizen, Bryan influenced the politics of his country as perhaps no other man of his time had done. As a layman, he has taught the lessons of the Holy Bible, as he understood them, to a larger congregation than any minister or priest of our age. . . . The power of his great influence was his eloquence. In that respect he had but few equals in the history of the world. His greatness in this respect often caused admiring followers to be enthralled in an admiration of enthusiasm which led them to go contrary to the dictates of reason and logic. . . . He could picture the wrongs of suffering people as they had never been portrayed before. . . . He could outline remedies that moved millions of his countrymen to enthusiastic support, even though premeditated reason would later show the fallacy of his proposition. And when time had shown that some of his remedies would not stand the test of reason, his mighty eloquence took the same citizenship over to enthusiastic support of other remedies which again in time failed to meet the test."

"Our history," said another writer, "has no parallel for Bryan. The nearest historical comparison is with Henry Clay, the beloved 'Mill Boy of the Slashes,' thrice a presidential candidate, an orator who swayed men's minds and emotions with his silvery tongue as Bryan was to stir them half a century later. But there the parallel ends. Bryan, Puritan and prophet of the people, stands alone."

Always the "Great Commoner," always the incomparable spokesman for the masses, the foe of militarism and of alcoholism, the champion of Democracy and Orthodoxy, Bryan will go down in history as the "boy orator of the Platte" and the "idol of the West."

HISTORICAL SETTING OF BRYAN'S CROSS OF GOLD SPEECH

The Cross of Gold Speech by Bryan in Chicago at the National Democratic Convention of 1896 is universally recognized as the greatest triumph of convention oratory in American history. Only twice before had similar eloquence produced such astounding results in elevating its author to permanent fame: the first instance being that of *The Plumed Knight Speech* by Ingersoll in 1876; and the second being Garfield's *Nomination of Sherman* in 1880, which resulted in the choice of Garfield himself for the coveted honor. Greater than either of these two preceding speeches, however, Bryan's effort at Chicago displayed all the brilliancy of style exhibited by Ingersoll, combined with the soothing and stimulating effect of Garfield's eloquence, which, as in the case of Garfield, made him the "dark-horse" nominee of his party in that year, and created such unbounded admiration for him that twice again in 1900 and in 1908, he was acclaimed by subsequent conventions as "the peerless leader of Democracy."

This speech by Bryan was delivered on the third day of the convention, July 9, 1896, when the Committee on Resolutions had reported a platform that declared the paramount issue to be the money question. Mono-metallism, it declared to be a British policy, the adoption of which had brought all other nations into servitude to London. "We demand," said this platform, "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

In the making of this platform, a majority of the committee had studiously avoided any word of approbation for President Cleveland; and the condemnation of every policy with which he had been identified was a clear indication of their intent to repudiate him. A minority of sixteen on the committee resented such action, however, and protested against some declarations in the platform as "wholly unnecessary"; against others as "ill-considered and ambiguously phrased"; and against still others as "extreme and revolutionary."

To bring their protest forcibly before the convention, the minority, therefore, offered a substitute for the silver plank, saying that "any attempt of the United States alone to establish free silver would imperil national finances and injure commerce and industry"; and, coupled with this, they offered another plank commending Cleveland's administration.

No sooner were these two reports before the convention, than Senator Tillman of South Carolina, known as "Pitchfork" Tillman, leaped upon the platform. To praise Cleveland was to him like waving a red rag to a bull. All on fire with rage and hatred, this old-time fire-eater began to denounce with clenched fists and hissing words the substitute resolutions of the minority. Pacing up and down the platform like a raving madman, Tillman, with his dark, savage features, his face flushed, and his hair unkempt, seemed the impersonation of the mob spirit. So excited was he that at times his speech became unintelligible; and, when he had finished amid an uproar, only a few, who had heard him, knew what he had said.

To combat this utterance, Senator David A. Hill of New York then spoke in behalf of the minority report. With face ashen-white and a manner that was glacial, he said to the howling mob—"I am a Democrat, but I am not a revolutionist." Preferring reason to passion, he spoke in a cold and

argumentative style, which might have been convincing in a deliberative body, but unfortunately this convention was not worthy of that name. So great was the excitement and uproar that prevailed among the surging mass of frantic delegates there assembled, that not one word of Hill's could take effect. The convention simply would not listen to him, nor to Vilas of Wisconsin, nor to Russell of Massachusetts, who tried in vain to be heard.

It then became the privilege of William Jennings Bryan to close the debate against the plank offered by the minority repudiating free silver. "Such an opportunity to close a debate had never come to me before," he said at a later time, "and I doubt if as good an opportunity had ever come to any other person during this generation."

"Until then," says Peck in his *Twenty Years of the Republic*, "there had spoken no man to whom that riotous assembly would listen with respect. But, at this moment, there appeared upon the platform, Mr. William J. Bryan of Nebraska, who came forward to reply to the three preceding speakers. As he confronted the twenty thousand yelling, cursing, shouting men before him, they felt at once that indescribable, magnetic thrill which beasts and men alike experience in the presence of a master. Serene and self-possessed, and with a smile upon his lips, he faced the roaring multitude with a splendid consciousness of power. Before a single word had been uttered by him, the pandemonium sank to an inarticulate murmur and when he began to speak, even this was hushed to the profoundest silence. A mellow, penetrating voice that reached, apparently without the slightest effort, to the farthest recesses of that enormous hall, gave utterance to a brief exordium.

"In his first three sentences he had won his auditors. The

repose and dignity of his manner, the courteous reference to his opponents, and the perfect clearness and simplicity of his language riveted the attention of every man and woman in the convention hall."

His speech, so says an article in the *Review of Reviews*, was "almost destitute of argument. With consummate shrewdness, he declined to defend his own position, but plunged boldly to the attack. . . . The friends of silver, he declared, would no longer plead nor beg for justice, but came to demand and defy. His graphic pictures of existing commercial distress, which he laid at the door of gold monometallism, and his impassioned defense of the intelligence, the patriotism, and the rights of the masses of the people swept all before him."

When he borrowed the sentiment of Patrick Henry's speech on *Liberty or Death*, and declared, in reply to the gold advocates, that "we beg no longer, we entreat no more, we petition no more; we defy them!"—he created as profound an impression as that made by the Virginian orator of 1775. In words that must have been borrowed from Wirt's account of Henry's triumph, Peck describes the effect of this utterance. "The great hall," he said, "seemed to rock and sway with the fierce energy of the shout that ascended from twenty-thousand throats. . . . The leaderless Democracy of the West was leaderless no more. In that very moment, and in that burst of applause, it was acclaiming its new chief."

"The scene enacted in the convention," according to Peck's account, "as Bryan finished speaking was indescribable. Throughout the latter part of his address, a crash of applause had followed every sentence; but now the tumult was like that of a great sea thundering against the dykes. Twenty thousand men and women went mad with enthusiasm. The

orator had met their mood to the very full. He had found magic words for the feeling which they had been unable to express. And so he had played at will upon their very heart-strings, until the full tide of their emotion was let loose in one tempestuous roar of passion, which seemed to have no end."

After this speech, it was almost impossible to restore order, but when a partial semblance of quiet prevailed, the convention voted down the minority report with cries of derision, and adopted the majority's wishes for a silver platform by a vote of 628 to 301.

The next day, the convention nominated Bryan as its candidate for the presidency. The result was hailed by the West with immense enthusiasm; by the South with doubtful approbation; and by the East with anger and dismay. Over some of the offices of Democratic newspapers in the East, flags were hoisted at half-mast; and the New York *World* said that "lunacy having dictated the platform, it was perhaps natural that hysteria should evolve the candidate."

In contrast with this Eastern view, however, the Western view was expressed exactly by the words of the speaker who nominated Bryan in the convention. According to this viewpoint, he was "that young giant of the West, that friend of the people, that champion of the lowly, that apostle and prophet of this great crusade for financial reform—a new Cicero to meet the new Catilines of to-day—to lead the Democratic party, the defender of the poor, and the protector of the oppressed, which this day sends forth tidings of great joy to all the toiling millions of this over-burdened land."

Seldom has mere eloquence produced such a tremendous upheaval; and the result seems strange, indeed, when we learn that, for years, Bryan had been giving the substance of this

same speech on the stump and at the cross-roads. It is said, in fact, that his most telling phrase—"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold"—was one that he had used with effect several times before during the preceding year and had saved to use when some great opportunity arose.

Those who read Bryan's speech in the newspapers of the next day wondered what there was in it to carry conviction to the hearts of so great an audience. Certainly it was not the argument involved; for there was none. It served its purpose, because it was the beautiful, the harmonious, the heroic expression of the overwhelming passion of the hour. It was the almost unprecedented and perfect combination of "the man, the subject, and the occasion." As such, this speech by Bryan will long be remembered as the greatest triumph of convention oratory in modern times.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN: THE CROSS OF GOLD SPEECH

JULY 9, 1896

We have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon the representatives of the people. We do not come as individuals. It is not a question of persons; it is a question of principles, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side.

The gentleman who preceded me spoke of the State of Massachusetts, but we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the greatest citizens in the State of Massachusetts. When you come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course.

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day—who begins in the spring and toils all summer—and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of business men.

Ah, my friends, we say not a word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—the pioneers away out there who rear their children near to nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that, if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave your farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every occasion, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and, upon that issue, we expect to carry every State in the Union. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

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COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXT

On Bryan's *Cross of Gold Speech*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Bryan was familiar with: (1) *Isaiah*, 35:1; (2) Wirt's version of Henry's *Call to Arms*; (3) *Mark*, 15:17; (4) *John*, 19-2; (5) Garfield's *Nomination of Sherman*?
- II. Who were: (1) the advocates of the gold standard in the Democratic convention; (2) the gentleman from Massachusetts?
- III. What reference does Bryan make to such men as: (1) Mark Hanna; (2) Joseph H. Choate; (3) Jay Gould and James Fisk, Jr.—See Bassett, 646-647.
- IV. Was there any literal truth in Bryan's statement: "We are fighting in defense of our homes"?
- V. What indirect reference does Bryan make to: (1) the Republican doctrine of protectionism; (2) the monetary plank in the Republican platform and in the minority report for the Democratic platform?
- VI. What States voted against Bryan's stand on the silver question in the Democratic convention?—See Beard's *Contemp. Am. Hist.*, 18.

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM WILLIAM J. BRYAN

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. aggressors 2. attorney 3. believe 4. corner 5. financial 6. ideas 7. magnates 8. metropolis 9. petition 10. resources

CHAPTER XIX

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

THE PLACE OF BEVERIDGE AMONG ORATORS OF ERA OF IMPERIALISM

Albert J. Beveridge was one of the most brilliant and conspicuous political orators of America from the close of the Spanish War in 1898, down through the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft, to the formation of the Progressive party in 1912 and the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson in 1913.

Though conspicuous throughout all this period, Beveridge was, however, never more prominent than when, at the beginning of his career, he was put forth by the Republicans as the chief protagonist of the new policy of imperialism with respect to the Philippines; while Bryan was claiming among Democrats the distinction of being the foremost protagonist of a policy of anti-imperialism.

Just as Bryan had been the product of seething unrest during the early nineties to give relief to the laboring masses of the people through Populist reforms; so Beveridge was the product of similar seething unrest to make America a great world power among commercial nations, with colonial dependencies to give it ready access to the limitless markets of the Orient.

Immediately before Beveridge burst upon the country with meteoric brilliance as an orator and statesman of the first rank, America had been engaged in war with Spain to secure the independence of Cuba; and this war had resulted in giving to the nation one of its most perplexing problems, as to

whether it should accept the responsibility of administering a colonial empire in the Philippines.

For three decades before 1898, the American government had faced a delicate situation in its relations with Spain, growing out of Spanish misrule in Cuba. The ten-year revolt of Cuba, between 1868 and 1878, had finally been crushed by the Spanish authorities, and had given place to a ruthless tyranny that was ruining the island. This tyranny produced another revolt in 1895; and the inhumanity with which the Spanish commanders attempted to put down this new movement raised widespread sympathy for the rebels in America. Both Cleveland and McKinley protested against Spanish methods of subjugation, and received from Spain promises of reform; but these promises were regarded as insincere. For interference in Cuban affairs, American citizens in Cuba were threatened with violence; and, hence, the battleship *Maine* was sent to Havana to afford protection. While this vessel lay peacefully at anchor in Havana harbor, it was blown up, without warning, from unknown causes, on the night of February 15, 1898. This great tragedy, of course, produced a furor in America. Again Spain gave assurances of her good intentions to bring about reform; but these assurances were thought to be unsatisfactory; and, on April 19, 1898, war was formally declared upon Spain for the liberation of Cuba.

The first great battle of this war was Dewey's naval victory at Manila, on the other side of the globe, in the Philippine Islands, on May 1, 1898. By this engagement, Dewey came into possession only of Manila Bay. It was necessary for him to be re-enforced by land detachments before he could occupy the city, and these did not arrive until July. Meanwhile, Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley had bottled up and destroyed the Spanish fleet of Cervera at Santiago de Cuba.

and the army had captured that city. By August 12, the war was practically over; for, on that date, the peace protocol was signed; but Dewey, in Manila Bay, heard nothing of these developments; and, hence, on August 13, he proceeded, from land and sea, to capture the city.

Between August 13 and October 1, when the Peace Commission met in Paris, President McKinley seemed to be in a quandary concerning his policy toward the Philippines. He knew that the Filipinos were in revolt against Spain. He knew that they desired their independence. He knew that it would not do to hand them back to Spain. Yet he felt that they were incapable of sustaining their independence; that they could not be left to become the prey of other nations; and that neither could they be allowed to revert to anarchy. But really what claim had we to them? Surely not one of conquest. And if we set up any claim, how much should we demand? Should we ask for Manila only?—or for the island of Luzon?—or for the whole archipelago?

These questions bowed down the Chief-Executive with the weight of his responsibility. On his knees, he sought guidance of the Almighty to solve this baffling problem. He did not want the Philippines; but finally, as he said, the light began to dawn, and he saw his way clearly. There was nothing to be done, but to take them, to take them all, to educate their people, to uplift, and civilize, and Christianize them, and by God's grace to do the very best we could by them as our fellow-men.

When President McKinley had once made up his mind as to his duty, he did not falter. He went before the people with an expression of his purpose; and, when he felt that they were with him, he authorized his peace commissioners to demand the Philippines and to offer in payment for them the sum of twenty million dollars.

Thus it was that we negotiated for the acquisition of the Philippines; but, long before the treaty of peace was signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, a formidable opposition to the policy of imperialism, as embodied in the project to acquire these islands, had developed in America. Under the leadership of Carl Schurz, Moorfield Storey, and George Frisbie Hoar—all ardent disciples of the statesmanship of Charles Sumner—an anti-imperialist league was organized to defeat this movement for expansion into the Orient. By speeches, magazine articles, and every other form of legitimate propaganda, these three patriots tried to rouse the people against the disastrous consequences of overthrowing the principles of the Declaration of Independence by forcibly annexing a people, to govern them without their consent and in defiance of their protests.

It was a strange sight, says Lodge in his history of *The War with Spain*, to see a movement of this kind develop, since it was founded on the theory that our treaty had secured for us too much and that our peace commissioners had been too triumphant. Yet the movement grew by leaps and bounds, adding factional opposition to that which was sincere.

Almost simultaneously with the outburst of this anti-imperialist sentiment came, however, the first appearance of Beveridge as a political orator of the first magnitude in defense of the policy of the administration; for, on September 16, 1898, he sounded the key-note of the Republican congressional campaign at the Indiana State Convention by his brilliant and oft-quoted speech on *The March of the Flag*.

When Congress assembled in December, it was forced to listen to the introduction of resolutions condemning the imperialistic policy of the government; and, when the peace treaty was laid before the Senate in January, these resolutions

were eloquently debated by Senator Hoar for the anti-imperialists and by Senator Foraker in support of the administration.

After prolonged debates, lasting until February 6, in which Senators Lodge, Daniel, and Hoar took a conspicuous and brilliant part, the treaty was ratified by a vote of 61 to 29, with just one vote more than was necessary for the purpose.

This result was secured by the efforts of William J. Bryan, who came to Washington to induce a sufficient number of his followers to vote for the treaty in order to re-establish peace and save the issue of Philippine imperialism for the next presidential election in 1900.

From this time forward, Beveridge, Bryan, Roosevelt, Schurz, and Hoar were destined to occupy the center of the stage in the controversy over imperialism. On February 15, 1899, Beveridge gave another remarkable address in favor of imperialism at Philadelphia, under the title, *The Republic That Never Retreats*. This address, Bryan answered in Washington for the anti-imperialists on February 22, 1899, with a discourse entitled *America's Mission*. Bryan's talk, in turn, was answered by Roosevelt in Chicago on April 10, 1899, when Roosevelt spoke on the subject, *The Strenuous Life*. And Roosevelt was answered on October 17, in the same city, by Carl Schurz, in behalf of the anti-imperialists.

Thus, the controversy waxed hot and cold for months, until the time when it was revived with the utmost vigor by Beveridge, in the Senate, on January 9, 1900. At this time, in his maiden speech before Congress, Beveridge spoke most eloquently on his resolution: "That the Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such and to

establish and maintain such governmental control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand."

To this speech, Senator Hoar made an immediate and effective, though brief, reply; and later, on April 17, 1900, the very day on which the Second Philippine Commission under Taft set sail to establish civil government in the Philippines, when the United States had become so involved in the islands that it was almost impossible to retire, Senator Hoar made his famous and pathetic protest against the whole Philippine policy.

The question now was not one of merely taking peaceful possession of property that we had purchased from Spain, but one of conquering the native inhabitants of the islands, who, under Aguinaldo, had gone into open revolt against the military authorities of the United States.

In America, people were quite obviously growing weary of the long drawn-out discussion; but again the whole question was fanned into flame by William Jennings Bryan in his speech of August 8, 1900, when, at Indianapolis, he accepted for the second time the nomination of the Democratic party for the presidency; and this flame became a bright blaze as Beveridge took up the cudgels for the Republican party and, on September 25, 1900, delivered his famous campaign speech at Chicago on the subject, *The Star of Empire, or America a World Republic*.

Throughout all this discussion of the doctrine of imperialism, it appears that Beveridge was in the thick of the battle, measuring his talents with those of Foraker, Lodge, and Roosevelt, and meeting in the forum, or on the rostrum, the ablest protagonists of anti-imperialism, George Frisbie Hoar, Carl Schurz, and William Jennings Bryan.

Because, in every respect, he was the equal of these contemporary orators, and because, in the controversy that he waged, he upheld the cause that triumphed, he may with justice be called one of the foremost political orators of America in the period of agitation over the policy of Philippine imperialism.

THE LIFE OF ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana was one of the superlatively great political orators of America during the first decade of the twentieth century. Almost overnight he rose to national prominence for his fresh and vigorous eloquence on the issue of imperialism. This prominence he maintained for more than a decade in the Senate and on the stump as one of the principal spokesmen for the progressive element in the Republican party. Then, on account of his affiliation with the insurgent group of Republicans that broke away under Roosevelt to form the Progressive party in 1912, he was finally forced into political retirement, except when his eloquence or leadership was demanded in times of national crisis.

Only two years the junior of William Jennings Bryan, and, like the "Great Commoner," falling heir to the progressive spirit of Mid-West politics, Beveridge was hailed by Republicans in 1900 as the youthful rival in eloquence for "the boy orator of the Platte," the so-called "peerless leader of militant Democracy." Year after year, this rivalry continued, resembling in a way the old rivalry of Lincoln and Douglas; so that, in every congressional and presidential election for a decade, the people became familiar with the brilliant spectacle of a continuous clash in debate and oratory between the so-called "Republican David and the Democratic great man of Gath."

Senator Beveridge, this superb stump-speaker and orator of the forum, was born in Highland County, Ohio, in 1862, the son of poor parents, who met with severe reverses during the period of the Civil War. In early childhood, he removed with his family to Illinois; and there at the age of twelve, he was engaged as a plough-boy to do a hired man's work behind a team of horses on an Illinois farm. At fourteen, he was doing a man's work in a railroad construction gang; and, at fifteen, he was a teamster and lumberman in charge of a logging camp. He then managed to obtain a high school education, and entered DePauw University at the age of nineteen. He worked his way through this institution by capturing every prize but one that was offered during his four-year course; and, when he graduated in 1885, he was recognized as one of the most brilliant college orators of his generation in the Middle-West.

At this time his health broke down, and again he went West to build up his physique by hard manual labor; but soon he was back once more at his studies preparing for the law; and, in a remarkably short time, he entered almost simultaneously into the practice of his profession at Indianapolis and into active participation in local politics.

Beyond his own immediate vicinity, however, he was not known by the people generally, until, in the campaign of 1898, he made, at Indianapolis, a remarkably eloquent speech, entitled *The March of the Flag*, which became at once an important campaign document for the Republican party on the issue of imperialism and was circulated widely throughout Indiana, Iowa, and other Mid-West States.

This speech undoubtedly caused Beveridge to be considered seriously as a candidate for the United States Senate in the election by the legislature, which took place in January, 1899.

At first, he was merely a dark-horse candidate, but eventually he forged ahead of the other prominent candidates and won his seat in the Senate, without having held any minor political offices, at the age of 36, when he was the next-to-the-youngest member of the newly elected upper House of Congress.

Almost instantaneously a summons came to him to speak before a huge political meeting in Philadelphia on the issue of imperialism; and there, on February 15, 1899, he laid the foundations for his nation-wide reputation as an orator by a remarkable speech on *The Republic That Never Retreats*.

Though elected to the Senate in January, 1899, he knew that he would not take his seat in that body until December; and, hence, in the meantime, he set out characteristically to make himself thoroughly familiar with the great issue of imperialism, which he knew must be the most absorbing topic of consideration in his first Congress.

This issue of imperialism was concerned with the problem of what should be done with our newly acquired territory, the Philippines. Almost no first-hand and reliable data was available for the settlement of this problem; and, hence, Beveridge decided that the best way to study this issue was to go to the Philippines themselves.

Beveridge, therefore, went to the Orient to make a personal investigation of conditions existing there; and, when he returned for the opening of Congress in December, he found that he was regarded as one of the best-informed men in the Senate on the whole Philippine question.

The opening months of 1900 witnessed in Congress long and protracted debates on the proper policy to be pursued in the Philippines, the purpose of which was to educate the public on the chief issue of the forth-coming presidential campaign. During these debates, on January 9, 1900, Beveridge delivered

before the Senate, what, perhaps, is his most famous speech, in support of the administration policy,—a speech that brought him into collision with the venerable and veteran statesman, George Frisbie Hoar, the Senator from Massachusetts, who had gone into open revolt against the policy of his own party.

From this contest, Beveridge emerged unscathed with a permanent reputation for statesmanship and an unequalled reputation for eloquence among the younger generation of Republican orators on the issue of imperialism; and, hence, it is not strange that the Republicans of the Middle West called upon him in the fall campaign to answer Bryan's speech of acceptance, with a superb stump speech, at Chicago, entitled *The Star of Empire, or America a World Republic*.

This speech at Chicago, Beveridge followed up by throwing down the gauntlet to Bryan in Bryan's own State; and thereafter these two orators were pitted against each other by their respective parties in every congressional and presidential election for a decade. It seemed almost impossible, in fact, for any State to open its Republican campaign thereafter, without securing the services of Beveridge as an orator; for in 1902, in 1904, in 1906, and in 1908, we find him making speeches all over the country from Maine to California, and in all the large cities like Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco.

While Beveridge was gaining a reputation in this way as a political orator, he was by no means neglecting his opportunity to obtain a reputation also for platform oratory of a high type, such as is exhibited in his oration at the dedication of Indiana's monument on the battle-field of Shiloh, Tennessee, in 1903; in his *Eulogy of Mark Hanna* in 1904; in his orations of Frances Willard and James Whitcomb Riley in 1905; in his oration at Grant's monument in Galena, Illinois, in 1907;

in his address on *The Meaning of the Times* to Yale students in 1908; and in his *Eulogy of Jonathan P. Dolliver* in 1911.

Slowly but surely, however, Beveridge was finding himself in his last years in the Senate out of step with the main body of the Republican party. By following Roosevelt in his trust-busting program, by pushing through Congress the *Meat Inspection Bill* of 1906, by agitating the child labor question in 1907, by insisting on reforms in the national forest service in 1908, and by joining the Insurgents in 1909 and 1910 on the issue of the tariff, Beveridge became *person non grata* among regular Republicans; and finally, by joining the Progressive party in 1912, he cut off for a time at least all hope of future political preferment.

Retiring from the Senate in 1911, Beveridge proposed to extend his fame in a field far removed from politics; and, in pursuit of this plan, he prepared and published a monumental historic work on *The Life of John Marshall*, which critics have pronounced to be one of the world's masterpieces of biographical literature. The success of this work led him to undertake a similar project on *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, and two volumes of this second work had been brought to completion at the time of his death in 1927.

From time to time, after 1912, Beveridge emerged from his study to give to the world some splendid specimens of his old-time eloquence, as he did in the Republican campaign of 1916, and as he did later in his own unsuccessful campaign for re-election to the Senate in 1922; but, for the most part, he seemed content, in his last years, to achieve a reputation for being one of the great twentieth-century writers on American history.

In great measure, this second goal of his ambition was attained; but however brilliant his fame may be in the field

of literature, it can never eclipse wholly the brilliancy of his early achievement in the field of oratory. To all succeeding generations, he will be known as one of the few superlatively great political orators of America in the first decade of the twentieth century—a man who shared his honors with George Frisbie Hoar, Carl Schurz, Henry Cabot Lodge, William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes, Robert M. LaFollette, and Jonathan P. Dolliver; but a man, nevertheless, who, in the company of these great leaders, stood out among them all as their acknowledged peer.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF BEVERIDGE'S SPEECH ON THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

By his maiden speech in the United States Senate, delivered scarcely one month after his entrance into that body, Albert J. Beveridge, the newly chosen Senator from Indiana, then the next-to-the-youngest member of the upper House of Congress, did the most unprecedented thing: he refused to recognize the custom, that a newcomer in the senate should remain for months, and perhaps for years, a silent and respectful listener; but, instead, he leaped over all the barriers that usually impede the progress of senatorial novices and at once took his place among the most influential and highly respected statesmen at the national capital.

This first speech, that made Beveridge a marked man, was delivered on January 9, 1900, in support of a resolution regarding the disposition of the Philippines, which, five days before, he had introduced into the Senate, to the effect, "That the Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such and to establish and maintain such governmental

control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand."

When Beveridge rose to speak on this subject, he found that the announcement of his intention to address the Senate had attracted to the Chamber a huge audience of his colleagues and of distinguished outsiders, such as seldom gathered to hear ordinary debates; for it was known in advance that he had decided views; that he had more first-hand information than any other Senator; and that he had an unusual gift of forceful and persuasive speech.

More than a year before, in fact, during the congressional campaigns of the autumn of 1898, when the question of imperialism was a leading issue, Beveridge had made himself known throughout the Middle West by a powerful campaign speech, delivered at Indianapolis on September 16, and entitled *The March of the Flag*; and then, after his election to the Senate on January 17, 1899, he had further extended his enviable reputation for eloquence and budding statesmanship of a forthright character, by an equally powerful stump-speech at Philadelphia, on February 15, 1899, which appeared under the title, *The Republic That Never Retreats*.

By these speeches, long before he appeared to take the oath of office in the Senate on December 4, 1899, Beveridge had committed himself to the cause of expansion into the Orient; and he knew that, when he undertook the duties of his new office, he would be expected to take the same strong stand that he had previously assumed.

To prepare himself, therefore, for the heavy task that he proposed to undertake, he not only went to the bottom of all legal and constitutional questions involved in our acquisition of the Philippines, and then made himself familiar with the whole literature of colonial administration as practiced by other countries, but he also resolved to go to the Far East and

there see for himself all the conditions prevailing in the Philippines about which he might have to argue.

Accordingly, early in the spring of 1899, he set sail for Manila, and there attached himself unofficially to the First Philippine Commission under the leadership of President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University, which President McKinley had sent to the islands with the purpose of investigating thoroughly and making recommendations concerning what should be done with our new possessions.

Unfortunately for this commission, and for Senator Beveridge as well, their work of investigation was greatly hampered by the existence of hostilities especially on the island of Luzon; but, in spite of this handicap, members of the commission interviewed literally hundreds of persons representing all classes of the population; and individual members of the commission, accompanied by Senator Beveridge, were able to make a tour of two thousand miles to all the different islands in the archipelago.

In this way, the commission gathered an almost inexhaustible amount of information, all of which, of course, was shared with Senator Beveridge; and, when it made its first preliminary report to the President on November 2, 1899, it voiced perfectly Beveridge's sentiment that the Filipinos were then incapable of self-government, and that the United States must retain control of the islands for an indefinite period.

President McKinley, on December 5, in his message to the new Congress, expressed this same sentiment, with the added thoughts, that, so long as insurrection in the islands continued, government by the military authorities must be maintained, but that, in the meantime, it would be the duty of Congress to devise some proper scheme of government to be inaugurated when peace was established.

Such a suggestion for Congress to open the discussion of

this problem was hardly needed, however; for the Philippine question was already regarded as the burning issue of the day; and, even before Congress adjourned for the Christmas holidays on December 20, two resolutions for disposing of the Philippines were introduced by Senators, hostile to the administration—one, by Senator Bacon of Georgia; and the other, by Senator Tillman of South Carolina.

These two resolutions, submitted on December 18, could not be debated before the holidays; but, when Congress reassembled on January 3, the whole Philippine problem was again brought to the front by another resolution introduced by Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota, who was also hostile to the administration. This last resolution was one of inquiry, asking the Executive to find out for the Senate, if the Philippine leader, Aguinaldo, had not maintained that fighting started accidentally; if he had not asked that hostilities be stopped, and that a neutral zone be established between the two armies until terms of peace could be determined; and if General Otis, for the Americans, had not replied that the fighting, once begun, must go on to the grim end.

This resolution deeply angered all the administration Senators; and there is no doubt that it would have been refused consideration, if Senator Hoar had not protested that, to reject it, would violate the traditions of the Senate.

Something had to be done, however, to counteract this flood of adverse sentiment on the administration's Philippine policy; and, accordingly Senator Beveridge introduced his resolution in favor of retaining the Philippines and of establishing there whatever government seemed desirable.

Before Beveridge had an opportunity to speak on his resolution, Senator Pettigrew had again inflamed the Senate by saying that our war in the Philippines had never been sanc-

tioned by Congress; that it was the President's war; and that it had been prosecuted by him in violation of every principle of government. Now, Pettigrew claimed, it was the duty of Congress to investigate and intervene, or abdicate all powers to the President. He wanted an investigation, he said, because he believed that "we had attacked an ally; that we had been guilty of the grossest treachery; and that we had gone further in dishonor toward an ally fighting with us than any nation ever went in all history."

This was enough to fire all the fighting blood in a man like Senator Beveridge; and it is no wonder, therefore, that he opened his great speech on January 9 by saying, that he addressed the Senate, not only because Senators and Members of the House on both sides had asked him to give the country his observations and conclusions in respect to the Philippines and the Far East; but also "because of hurtful resolutions introduced and utterances made in the Senate, every word of which will cost, and is costing, the lives of American soldiers."

With such an introduction, Beveridge proceeded, in the presence of an unprecedented audience, to maintain that "the Philippines are ours forever . . . that we will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago; that we will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient; that we will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world."

To hold the Philippines, he said, could be no mistake; for they opened to us the commerce of the East; and they, themselves, were an island-empire scarcely excelled for their wealth and their opportunities for trade. Never was there anything in our military situation to lead us to abandon the islands; for we attempted a gigantic task with insufficient support from Congress; yet we had accomplished wonders with what we

had, and all the stories of cruelty on the part of our soldiers were base falsehoods. There was but one thing that was needed, and that was a vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful termination. It was our duty to set up in the Philippines a model government, and nothing in the Declaration of Independence could be construed as forbidding such a course. Neither was there anything in the Constitution to forbid our undertaking such a task. The whole question was deeper than party politics, and deeper even than an issue of constitutional power. It was a question of assuming a trust placed on us by the decree of Providence. We could not abandon that trust; we could not abandon our soldiers in the field; we could not haul down our flag where it had once been raised over our soldier dead. It was not a question of money; not a question of honor. America could not be found wanting in this hour of crisis. His resolution should be adopted in order that peace might come, and in order that the work of saving and uplifting might be begun. Adopt it, he said, and let bloodshed cease; but refuse to adopt it, and future generations would hold us responsible for the fearful consequences that were sure to follow.

During the delivery of this speech, Beveridge was again and again applauded by his hearers; and, at its termination, there was a spontaneous outburst of applause from the galleries, which the presiding officer felt obliged to suppress.

Scarcely had Senator Beveridge finished, when Senator Hoar was on his feet to reply. Here was one of the venerable giants of the Senate entering the arena to rebuke the young stripling. Seldom before or since, has any such rebuke been administered. He tactfully and beautifully commended the silver speech of the newcomer, and welcomed his enthusiasm, and patriotism, and talents to the Senate; but then he called

attention to his speech, and said that there was much to charm our youth with the dream of empire, but in it there was no mention of such thoughts as Right, Justice, Duty, and Freedom. All he could think of was the temptation of Christ by Satan, and the appropriate reply of our Savior to the tempter, "Get thee hence, Satan."

Many people throughout the country agreed with Senator Hoar, but many others, and perhaps a vast majority of the American people, hailed Beveridge as one of the most brilliant orators and statesmen of the times, one who, with clarion voice, could proclaim to the world the firm purpose and altruistic motive of America in retaining the Philippines forever under the flag of this Republic.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE: THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

JANUARY 9, 1900

Mr. President, I address the Senate at this time because Senators and Members of the House on both sides have asked that I give Congress and the country my observations in the Philippines and the Far East, and the conclusions which those observations compel; and because of hurtful resolutions introduced and utterances made in the Senate, every word of which will cost, and is costing, the lives of American soldiers.

Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever,—“territory belonging to the United States,” as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China’s illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling our regrets like

slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

But to hold it will be no mistake. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany, or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.

Lines of navigation from our ports to the Orient and Australia, from the Isthmian Canal to Asia, from all Oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting and dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored at a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is, and will forever be, the American Republic.

Mr. President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question

of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this, the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race, He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to lead finally in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us "Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things."

What shall history say of us? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted duty, abandoned glory, forgot our sordid profit even, because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter's eye and the quibbler's mind? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history's noblest work, we declined that great commission? Our fathers would not have had it so. No! They founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration. They planted no sluggard people, passive while the world's work calls them. They established no reactionary nation. They unfurled no retreating flag.

That flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares

halt it now—now when history's largest events are carrying it forward; now when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny may bestow? How comes it that our first century closes with the process of consolidating the American people into a unit just accomplished, and quick upon the stroke of that great hour presses upon us our world opportunity, world duty, and world glory, which none but a people welded into an indivisible nation can achieve or perform?

Blind indeed is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary indeed is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven indeed is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that cares not to win a glory so immortal.

Do you tell me that it will cost us money? When did Americans ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremendous toil required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves, has ever been done with ease? Even our bread must we eat by the sweat of our faces. Why are we charged with power such as no people ever knew, if we are not to use it in a work such as no people ever wrought? Who will dispute the divine meaning of the fable of the talents?

Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is, indeed, a heavier price than all

combined. And yet as a nation every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished, has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who have died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men, and of women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing. Who would tear from that sacred banner the glorious legends of a single battle where it has waved on land or sea? What son of a soldier of the flag whose father fell beneath it on any field would surrender that proud record for the heraldry of a king? In the cause of civilization, in the service of the Republic anywhere on earth, Americans consider wounds the noblest decorations man can win, and count the giving of their lives a glad and precious duty.

Pray God that spirit never fails. Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend like the story of the Cid, American faith in our mission and our right a dream dissolved, and the glory of our mighty race departed.

Mr. President and Senators, adopt the resolution offered, that peace may quickly come, and that we may begin our saving, regenerating, and uplifting work. Adopt it, and this bloodshed will cease when these deluded children of our islands learn that this is the final word of the representatives of the American people in Congress assembled. Reject it, and the

world, history, and the American people will know where to fix forever the awful responsibility for the consequences that will surely follow such failure to do our manifest duty. How dare we delay when our soldiers' blood is flowing?

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On Beveridge's *Speech on the Philippine Question*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Beveridge was familiar with: (1) Bryant's *Thanatopsis* 77-78; (2) Bryan's speech of Feb. 22, 1899; (3) *Matthew*, 25:14-30; (4) *Luke*, 19:11-28; (5) Cass's speech on the

Ten Regiment Bill (1848); (6) *Genesis*, 3:19; (7) Milton's sonnet *To Cromwell*; (8) Sumner's battle-flag resolution—See Schurz's *Eulogy of Sumner*; (9) *Matthew*, 6:24; (10) *Exodus*, 19:5; (11) *Leviticus*, 26:12?

- II. From what article and section of the Federal Constitution did Beveridge get the phrase: "territory belonging to the United States"?
- III. What recent events in the colonial expansion of European nations had made the Philippines the last island empire in all the oceans to be seized?—See Hazen's *Mod. European Hist.* 373-374; Robinson and Beard's *Development of Mod. Europe* II, 143-145.
- IV. What is the story of the Cid?—See encyclopaedia.

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. adepts 2. chaos 3. craven 4. heraldry 5. irretrievable 6. isolated
7. isthmian 8. legends 9. regeneration 10. senile 11. sluggard 12. sordid

CHAPTER XX

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE PLACE OF ROOSEVELT AMONG THE POLITICAL ORATORS OF THE PERIOD OF INSURGENT AND PROGRESSIVE REFORM

For approximately twelve years at the beginning of the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt was the great outstanding figure in the field of American political oratory. He had, to be sure, many eminent rivals, among whom were such men as William Jennings Bryan, Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert J. Beveridge, Elihu Root, Robert M. LaFollette, Charles Evans Hughes, William E. Borah, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Hiram W. Johnson, and Woodrow Wilson; but, even among such great political orators as these, he was, nevertheless, the most outstanding spokesman of the time.

So conspicuous, indeed, was Roosevelt in this period of American history, as a forceful leader of public opinion, that these twelve years are sometimes called the "Rooseveltian Era"—an era, in which Roosevelt, first as President, and then as leader of the Insurgent Republicans and Progressive reformers, attempted to bring about far-reaching social, economic and political reforms: to curb the corrupt influence of organized wealth, and to restore to the people their rightful share in the control of the government.

This period of seething social unrest, in which Roosevelt was so conspicuous, has been described by historians as simply a revival of the period of popular discontent which came to a head in the Populist agitation for reform in the early nineties; which brought about the nomination of Bryan by Popu-

lists and Democrats in 1896; and which was temporarily side-tracked by the War with Spain in 1898, and by the subsequent discussion of Philippine imperialism in 1900.

Out of this earlier period of agitation came practically all the proposals for reform that were urged by the Insurgent, or Progressive, political orators of the Rooseveltian Era, such as, for example, the dissolution of all trusts and monopolies; government ownership or control of railroads and public utilities; a graduated Federal income-tax amendment; the conservation of natural resources, a reduction in the tariff; the extension of credit to farmers; the initiative, referendum, and recall; a system of direct primaries for the nomination of all elective office-holders; and the direct popular election of United States Senators.

When Roosevelt came into the presidency in 1901, on the death of William McKinley, practically nothing had been done to put into effect any of these proposals. A few minor laws had been passed in the interest of conservation. The *Sherman Anti-Trust Law* to make illegal all combinations in unreasonable restraint of trade had been passed in 1890, and had soon become a dead letter. A graduated Federal income-tax law had been passed in 1894, but it had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1895. And the *Dingley Tariff Act* of 1897 had given to the country the highest protective duties that had been known since the Civil War.

By one decisive blow, all the hopes of reform, originating in the Populist movement, seemed to be crushed with the defeat of Bryan on the paramount issue of free-silver in the campaign of 1896. During the next four years, under William McKinley, and under a Republican regime whose policies were determined chiefly by Senator "Mark" Hanna of Ohio, all these reforms were brushed aside. The government was admin-

istered frankly in the interest of big business with a high protective tariff and a policy of non-interference. The Spanish War diverted the attention of people from internal problems and made them quiescent by stimulating a widespread prosperity. Already, huge combinations tending toward monopoly had sprung up in spite of the *Sherman Anti-Trust Law*; but, in the period from 1898 to 1900, the growth in such capitalistic combinations became astounding and alarming.

Only William J. Bryan, among political leaders, seemed to sense the danger of the situation; and, in the campaign of 1900, he sounded the alarm against trusts and monopolies by making this problem second only to the issue of imperialism as a paramount issue of the campaign.

The large vote polled by Bryan in this election convinced McKinley that something must be done to check the growth of monopolistic combinations. McKinley always thought of reform in terms of the tariff; and, hence, in his last speech on the day of his assassination at Buffalo, September 5, 1901, he intimated that "some of our tariffs, perchance, were no longer necessary for revenue, or to encourage and protect some of our industries."

What McKinley would have done in respect to the tariff will always remain an enigma. He had no opportunity to carry into effect any new project. An assassin's bullet carried him off, and brought Roosevelt into the presidency.

Unlike McKinley, Roosevelt was not a tariff reformer, but like William J. Bryan, he was an outspoken enemy of trusts and machine politics controlled by wealth. He would not attack the trusts along the lines suggested by McKinley through a reduction in the tariff; and neither would he attack them after the plan suggested by Bryan, which was to destroy them root and branch; but he would rather differentiate between the good

and the bad, seeking to control and regulate the good trusts and to destroy the bad.

Under his leadership, therefore, and against the determined opposition of big business, there began at once a vigorous campaign to control the vicious practices of organized wealth and to destroy combinations that exercised an unreasonable restraint of trade. After taking his cause to the people in a remarkably successful speaking tour through New England, he secured from Congress, in 1903, legislation to create a Department of Commerce and Labor, with a bureau to investigate the organization and conduct of big-business corporations. He also secured the passage of an act forbidding the practice of rebating on railroads in favor of big-business. And finally he secured legislative enactments to give precedence on all court dockets to anti-trust cases under the *Sherman Act* and to provide adequate funds for the prosecution of such cases.

Soon, he was ready to move in the prosecution of what he termed "bad trusts." In 1903 and 1904, he brought suit against the Northern Securities Company to destroy this gigantic railroad combination, which had been organized by James J. Hill and J. P. Morgan. In rapid succession, thereafter, he then prosecuted the Beef Trust, the Sugar Trust, and the Standard Oil Company for alleged illegal practices; and thus he earned the well-deserved appellation of "the trust-buster."

In his efforts to control and regulate big-business, Roosevelt accomplished most perhaps in bringing about reform in the management of the railroads and in the management of big meat-packing industries; for, in 1906, he secured, against the most persistent opposition, the enactment of the *Hepburn Law*, which forbade the issuance of free passes by railroads; which authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to inspect the books of railroad companies; which gave the Commission power

to establish a uniform and invariable method of railroad book-keeping; and which finally gave to the Commission the power to establish rates. And in the same year, at the same time, he secured the enactment of Pure-Food legislation to subject the operations of the big meat-packing establishments to vigorous Federal inspection in the interests of the public health.

By such activities as these, Roosevelt became known as a great social reformer; but these were not his only efforts to give the people relief from the dominating control of great moneyed interests. In 1903, he prosecuted men, high up in the government service, for fraud in the post office and land office management. In 1906, as a result of the great insurance scandals that had lately been exposed, he secured the enactment of laws prohibiting campaign gifts from corporations. And in 1907 and 1908, he inaugurated the vigorous campaign to secure, from private exploitation, the great natural resources of the country in water-powers, forests, coal, and mineral ores, which yet remained within the public domain.

Such an example, set by Roosevelt in bringing about reform, could hardly fail to stimulate emulation among other leaders of progressive movements throughout the country. Albert J. Beveridge in the Senate early became a devoted champion of the Roosevelt policies; and, in 1905 and 1906, he was joined by two other ardent supporters of progressive principles, when Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, and William E. Borah of Idaho, came to the Senate, fresh from their triumphs at home against the entrenched power of corporate wealth and in behalf of popular government as represented in the direct primary system of nominations.

Roosevelt, before he became Vice President, had set an example for reform governors during his single term as Governor of New York. LaFollette had followed his example in

Wisconsin from 1900 to 1905. Charles Evans Hughes, when elected to the governorship of New York in 1906, after his exposure of the vast insurance scandals in 1905, again emulated Roosevelt's example. And later, in 1910, Hiram W. Johnson of California, and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, likewise, followed Roosevelt's example in bringing about sweeping reforms.

When Roosevelt retired from the presidency, therefore, in 1909, there was a vast body of progressive and insurgent sentiment throughout the country. This sentiment had its rallying point about the project for revising the tariff downward during the first years of the Taft administration. When it became evident that the Republicans of the Old Guard were going to force the tariff upward rather than downward, then the Insurgent Republicans, led by Senators Beveridge of Indiana, LaFollette of Wisconsin, and Dolliver of Iowa, hurled down the gage of battle. A terrific contest ensued. The Republican party was split in two. In the elections of 1910, Old-Guard Republicans, like Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, had to fight desperately for re-election. The Democrats were swept into power in the lower House of Congress. The contest went on into the campaign of 1912. Roosevelt was induced once more to become the leader of the progressive element for the Republican nomination. The Republican Convention, by so-called "steam-roller tactics," prevented his nomination. The Roosevelt party withdrew from the Convention, and set up an independent third-party movement; and, by the split, that was thus caused in the Republican ranks, the Progressive revolt made possible the election of a Democratic reform candidate in the person of Woodrow Wilson.

At last, through indirection, the Progressive element in American politics had won a complete triumph. By the ex-

piration of the first Congress under President Wilson, almost all the ideals of the early Progressive movement had been realized: big-business had been placed under drastic Federal regulation; a Federal income-tax amendment had been enacted; the conservation of natural resources was safeguarded; the tariff was reduced; the initiative and referendum had been widely adopted; a system of direct primaries had been almost universally adopted; and the direct popular election of United States Senators had been secured by amendment to the Federal Constitution.

In this great work of reform, many statesmen and political orators had played a prominent part. William Jennings Bryan, Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert J. Beveridge, Elihu Root, Robert M. LaFollette, Charles Evans Hughes, William E. Borah, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Hiram W. Johnson, and Woodrow Wilson, all had won brilliant laurels and achieved great triumphs during the period of conflict. But among them all, none perhaps did more for the cause, either directly or indirectly, than did Theodore Roosevelt. From the early beginnings of the movement for reform, up to its concluding struggle, Roosevelt was almost continuously in the forefront of the battle. He did not take part in each isolated contest for reform, nor did he originate many of the items in the reform program; but, as one historian has said, he was the "gigantic advertiser and popularizer" of the whole reform movement.

Spasmodically, and for brief periods, other political orators held the center of the stage during the upheavals that marked the first twelve years of agitation at the beginning of the century; but, during all this time, Roosevelt never ceased to command public interest and public respect. Without disparagement to others, therefore, Roosevelt may be called the great outstanding spokesman of his time.

THE LIFE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, the Rough-Rider President, was one of the most picturesque statesmen that ever dominated the public life of America. The leader and scourge of his own political party, the maker and un-maker of American Presidents, a friend of the people and a companion of kings, Roosevelt was regarded as the ideal exponent of his own phrase, "the strenuous life."

In the field of statesmanship, Roosevelt will always be remembered as the insistent champion of preparedness for war, and as the rough-and-ready reformer, who broke through all conventional restraints in wielding the so-called "big stick" upon the corrupt practices of organized wealth in American politics.

Though hated and feared by his opponents, he was loved by the people, even to the point of idolatry, "for the enemies he had made." To them, he was "the man of destiny"—the "most typical of all Americans"; and, in office or out of office, they were willing to follow him with enthusiastic acclaim even down to defeat "at Armageddon."

This many-sided statesman, soldier, author, publicist, hunter, explorer, naturalist, and historian, was of necessity and through constant practice one of the most forceful stump-speakers and platform orators of America, using his peculiar and vigorous eloquence for the uplift of the masses, for the checking of ultra-radical sentiment, for the creation of patriotism, and for the aggrandizement of the nation.

Speaking throughout the country in every city and town and village and hamlet, on every theme and in every crisis, no orator in the first two decades of the twentieth century was more admired, or more emulated, than was this man, who, like

Mark Antony, claimed to have none of the arts of eloquence, but simply spoke right on, giving utterance to plain, blunt truths, and appealing to the innate sense of righteousness among those who came by thousands to hear his message and be thrilled by his magnetic personality.

This dominating statesman and powerful political orator was born in New York City in 1858, the son of a well-to-do merchant of Dutch ancestry. As a child, he was extremely frail; and, accordingly, he received his early training at home rather than in the public schools. There, however, he became an omnivorous reader, and was known to his family as "a book-worm"; while, at the same time, he was taking boxing lessons and doing everything possible to build up his physique.

At the age of seventeen, he entered Harvard College, and, during his education there, attracted no notice for special talent, except that he became, before graduation, the champion boxer of the institution, and was one of the editors of a college paper.

Receiving his bachelor's degree with the class of 1880, Roosevelt went immediately to Europe, and there demonstrated in mountain-climbing his acquired physical prowess by making the hazardous ascent of the Matterhorn. He then returned to America, and for two years studied law. This profession held for him small attraction, however; and, in 1882, he entered upon his long career in politics as an assemblyman in the New York legislature.

At the State capital, he was regarded, at first, merely as another "silk-stocking"; but very soon he convinced his associates that he was a man with whom they must reckon. A reformer from the very beginning, he exposed in the Assembly the corruption of a State judge and of the Attorney-General, and demanded their impeachment. Day after day, his plea

was ridiculed; but, day after day, it was repeated, until, at last, he was known throughout the State. An investigation was ordered, and the offenders were "white-washed," but no longer was this newcomer regarded as a harmless "silk-stockings."

For three terms, Roosevelt served in the Assembly; and, during his last session, in 1884, he was nominated by his party for the Speakership. To regain his strength, he then went West to North Dakota, where he purchased two ranches and began his historical writings. He came into prominence again momentarily as an unsuccessful candidate for the mayoralty of New York City in 1886; but he did not hold another political office, until President Harrison appointed him, in 1889, to be a national civil-service commissioner at Washington. This office, he continued to hold even under the Democratic administration of President Cleveland until 1895, when, much to his delight, he was called upon to be a police commissioner of New York City. He was exercising the functions of this office with great satisfaction to the reform element, when President McKinley was urged to make him an Assistant-Secretary of the Navy. At first, McKinley demurred, saying that Roosevelt would be "a bull in a china closet"; but, at last, he yielded and gave Roosevelt an opportunity to build up the navy, so that it was the only branch of our service that was ready for the burden placed upon it during the Spanish War.

No man was more impatient with McKinley than was Roosevelt in consequence of the prolonged delay before war was declared upon Spain to liberate Cuba and avenge the destruction of the *Maine*. Roosevelt, in fact, said that McKinley "had no more backbone than a chocolate éclair." At last, however, when war did come, Roosevelt could not remain at a desk in Washington; but, with Leonard Wood, he organized a regiment of "rough riders" from the West and went with

them into the famous action at San Juan Hill for the capture of Santiago.

Emerging from the war with the title of colonel, Roosevelt was forced upon the politicians of New York for the Republican nomination for the governorship. No hero of the war had acquired a more amazing popularity; and, hence, his election in the autumn of 1898 was overwhelmingly assured.

For a term of two years, he occupied the governor's mansion at Albany, and inaugurated a program of reform in State politics that brought him into collision with the old party bosses. They did not like his vigorous measures to check mismanagement and corruption in the administration of the State's canal system; and neither did they like his reforms in the civil service. They became extremely hostile to him, however, when he proposed to tax railroad franchises; and, not knowing how otherwise to get rid of him, they determined to secure his nomination for the vice-presidency in 1900. To this project, President McKinley was at first opposed, and so was the great Republican boss, "Mark" Hanna; but the opposition of these men could not withstand the combined popular clamor for him and the insistent demand of Senator Platt that he be gotten out of New York State politics. Hence, he was nominated and elected by the Republicans to an office that was intended to be his political grave.

By a singular caprice of fortune, this so-called "man of destiny" soon rose, however, from his well-prepared grave. In September, 1901, President McKinley was assassinated; and, by this tragedy, Roosevelt was raised to that office, of all offices, from which the political bosses would have barred him.

On undertaking the duties of the presidency, Roosevelt pledged himself to carry out faithfully all the policies of the

McKinley administration; but such a pledge, even though scrupulously kept, could not prevent a display of Roosevelt's own power in unforeseen emergencies. As one political satirist said, "Roosevelt did carry out the policies of McKinley—and bury them."

Between 1901 and 1904, Roosevelt settled by strong-hand methods a serious coal strike; and, in the same way, he checked hostile demonstrations by European powers against Venezuela for the collection of debts. His most characteristic achievement, however, which proved to be an epoch-making event, was his "coup d'etat" against Colombia to secure, by means of a revolution, the right to build the Panama Canal.

In 1904, Roosevelt was one of the most popular men in the country, and secured his election to the presidency for a second term, which was to be really his own, by an unprecedented land-slide. Then, he began with renewed vigor to contend against the abuses of "big business." Following, for a moment, the leadership of Senator Beveridge, he first attacked the meat-packing industries to force them to clean up the stock-yards; and, out of this struggle, came the sweeping reforms of the *Pure-Food and Drugs Acts*. Almost at the same time, he brought to a successful termination his own bitter struggle to give to the Interstate Commerce Commission control over railway rates; and, having already antagonized the interests representing great wealth, he incurred their wrath still further by his prosecution of "bad trusts," and by his insistence upon the passage of an *Employers' Liability Act*.

During the course of his second administration, Roosevelt distinguished himself, not only for his domestic reforms, but also for his brilliant handling of international relations. Through his mediation, the Russo-Japanese war was terminated; by his interference in Cuba and San Domingo, stability and order were maintained; by his despatch of Secretary Root

to South America, Pan-American good-will was established; and by his sending our battle-fleet around the world, the threat of a Japanese war upon us was dispelled.

With a turn of his hand, Roosevelt could have received the Republican nomination for a third term in 1908; but, instead, he threw all his influence into the scales to secure the nomination of Taft, and himself retired from politics to go big-game hunting in Africa.

This trip was remarkable for the many specimens obtained for American museums, and for the triumphal progress of Roosevelt through Europe at its termination. After visiting almost every monarch in Europe and delivering addresses before learned bodies in the great universities of the continent and England, Roosevelt returned, in 1910, to America to be hailed with enthusiasm by the Progressive element of the Republican party.

He had no desire to become again the nominee of his party for the presidency; but, in the spring of 1912, he yielded to the overwhelming demand of his followers, and would have been nominated in the regular convention of that year, if "steam-roller" tactics had not been used against him by the "Old Guard."

Indignant at the loss of the nomination, he summoned his delegates to a new convention, and received from that body the nomination of the new Progressive party. He immediately took to the stump and prosecuted a vigorous campaign, eliminating the chances of Taft and bringing on a battle-royal between himself and Wilson, the Democratic candidate.

By the split in the Republican party, Roosevelt was defeated as well as Taft; and, again retiring from active politics, Roosevelt led an expedition of explorers and naturalists into the jungles of Brazil.

When the European War broke out in 1914, however,

Roosevelt became prominent again as one of the chief critics of the Wilson administration. He denounced unsparingly the proclamation of neutrality as a compromise between right and wrong; he ridiculed mercilessly the President's indecision and inaction during the long period of diplomatic note-writing; and he used his utmost efforts to attain preparedness for our ultimate entrance into the conflict.

He was thrilled beyond measure, when at last the President asked for a declaration of war in 1917, and offered to place on the firing line immediately two fully-equipped divisions that he had organized; but, much to his disgust, he was denied the privilege of serving his country in this manner. He, therefore, gave all his efforts to combating the anti-American sentiment of hyphenated Americans and pacifists, who were seeking to cripple the government at every turn in its measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Roosevelt lived just long enough to see the complete triumph of our arms; and, when he died in January, 1919, nothing gave him greater satisfaction than the five service-stars he wore for members of his family who had taken part in the conflict. One of these was a gold star for his son Quentin, killed in action, as a sacrifice to patriotism, which the father himself, in his own person, would have been only too glad to make.

At the time of Roosevelt's death, the whole nation and the whole world mourned his loss as irreparable. Friend and foe united in paying him tribute. Old feuds were forgotten, and he was pronounced to be the most American of all Americans, a friend of the people, the disciple of righteousness, and the incarnation of the vigorous patriotism that he had preached.

As an orator, Theodore Roosevelt had but one style, and that was the style he first exhibited in his stump-speaking

during the presidential canvass of 1900. Describing Roosevelt at that period, his biographer, William Roscoe Thayer, says of him, that "his attitude as a speaker, his gestures, the way in which his pent-up thoughts seemed almost to strangle him before he could utter them, his smile showing the white rows of teeth, his fist clenched as if to strike an invisible adversary, the sudden dropping of his voice, and leveling of his forefinger as he became almost conversational in tone, and seemed to address special individuals in the crowd before him, the strokes of sarcasm, stern and cutting, and the swift flashes of humor which set the great multitude in a roar, became familiar to millions of his countrymen; and cartoonists made his features and gestures familiar to many other millions."

To enumerate all his great speeches would be quite impossible; but it may not be unfair to say that among those that are best known are his speech on *The Strenuous Life* in 1899; his *Muck-Raker Speech* in 1906; his *Khartoum Speech* and *Guildhall Speech* in 1910; his *New Nationalism Speech* in 1911; his *Columbus Speech*, his *Carnegie Hall Address*, and his *Armageddon Speech* in 1912; his *Plattsburg Speech* in 1915; his *St. Louis Speech* in 1916; and his Chicago speech on *The Flag on the Firing Line* in 1917.

In all these speeches, as well as in all Roosevelt's writings, he impressed himself upon the American people as a maker of phrases, quite comparable even to the renowned Woodrow Wilson; for, to Roosevelt, may be traced the use of such terms as "the strenuous life,"—"rose-water reformers,"—"embalmed beef,"—"race suicide,"—"bush-league czars,"—"outpatients of Bedlam,"—"the lunatic fringe,"—"muck-rakers,"—"molly-coddles,"—"logothetes,"—"weasel words,"—"the Cubist school of patriotism,"—"professional pacifists,"—"parlor Bolsheviks,"—and "hyphenated Americans."

By the use of such phrases as these, Roosevelt drove home his messages to the people. According to Elihu Root, "Roosevelt was always sincere and simple, never ornate and florid. He spoke not the tongue of the poet or the philosopher. He had not what Macauley credited to Gladstone 'a command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and doubtful import.' No one ever doubted what Theodore Roosevelt meant. No one ever doubted that what he said he believed, he intended, and he would do. He was a man, not of sentiment or expression, but of feeling and of action. He uttered no fine sentences, satisfied that that was the end—the thing to be accomplished. His words were always the precursors of effective action."

This comment on Roosevelt's oratory agrees perfectly with the description of his style given by Henry Cabot Lodge in his *Eulogy of Roosevelt* before Congress. Yet Lodge adds to it this statement, that "in many of Roosevelt's more carefully prepared addresses are to be found passages of impressive eloquence, touched with imagination, and instinct with grace and feeling."

As a writer in the *World's Work* has said of him, Roosevelt presents "a case of 'all thoughts, all passions, all delights.' He is our most wonderful brother. No one can be confident that there is any emotion, any thought, any inspiration, but he has had it, or that there is any light whose glimmer he has not caught. He is constructive, destructive, a builder-up, a puller-down; a friend of the soul, glorious, rampageous, vastly able. He seems to butt against our whirling earth to keep it in its course. Never was there such a man."

Not an orator at all in the sense that Choate and Webster, Lincoln and Douglas, Ingersoll and Grady, Bryan and Bever-

idge, Lodge and Wilson were orators, but rather one, in the sense that John Adams was one, when, as Webster said, his oratory was "something greater and higher than all eloquence—it was action—noble, sublime, god-like action."

Such was Roosevelt, one of the most picturesque figures in American history during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a statesman and orator, whose written and spoken words in behalf of patriotism and humanity will long command the respect and homage of the American people.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH ON THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE

Of all the oratory heard in America during the first decade of the twentieth century, no single speech throws more light upon the character of the times—upon the seething condition of social and industrial unrest—than did the *Muck-Rake Speech* of Roosevelt, delivered on April 14, 1906, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Office Building for the House of Representatives in Washington. And similarly no single speech, perhaps, preached such a powerful lesson in regard to the proper attitude of people toward the undertakings of democratic government.

This speech is said to have been Roosevelt's most memorable plea to halt the movement for bringing to the bar of public opinion the immoral practices of organized wealth—a movement for which he, in large measure, was responsible—when the movement had progressed so far as to have caught up in its wake the sensational gossip-monger and the irresponsible demagogue.

In 1902, Roosevelt had inaugurated a campaign of ex-

posure against the methods of big business in order to secure support from the people for his "trust-busting" program; and his example soon attracted to the general movement a whole host of responsible, and irresponsible, writers and speakers, who, in newspapers and magazines, as well as on the lecture platform, throughout the country, began to create suspicion and distrust against all persons of wealth and especially against all successful captains of industry.

Among the earliest responsible writers to lay bare the unfair practices of big-business was Ida M. Tarbell, who published in 1903 her voluminous and scholarly *History of the Standard Oil Company*. And, at the same time, that she was creating for herself a permanent reputation as a historian, another writer, by the name of Lincoln Steffens, was winning the ear of the public by his exposure of civic corruption in a series of articles entitled *The Shame of the Cities*.

Through the success of these publications, a large group of popular magazines, including *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, *The Cosmopolitan*, and *Collier's Weekly*, adopted the policy of giving to the public regularly a vast body of seething, and sometimes lurid, literature of exposure. No man, no business seemed immune from their attacks; and, at last, it seemed as if they were about to destroy all faith in the existence of public or private virtue.

But the assaults upon the character of public men and industrial leaders were not confined to yellow journals and cheap popular magazines. The zest for this type of literature invaded even the field of fiction; and, after Frank Norris's exposure of the evils of cut-throat competition in his novel, *The Octopus*, in 1901, there came, in 1906, the exposure of the meat-packing business in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and the

exposure of intrigues between the railroads and big-business in Winston Churchill's *Coniston*.

The revelations made by such works of literature as these might have left no impress on the public mind, however, if they had not been re-enforced by the official exposures of Charles Evans Hughes in his investigation of the great insurance scandals; if they had not been substantiated by the uncovering of vast corruption and graft in the Middle West by Joseph W. Folk; and if they had not been supported by the evidence collected by James R. Garfield in respect to unfair practices in the transportation of petroleum.

So great a distrust and hatred for organized wealth had been created by these official and unofficial exposures, that, when Congress assembled in 1905, nothing could prevent the lower House from enacting legislation to curb evils in railroad management with a spirit that was not only vindictive but also venomous.

The railroad rate law that was passed by the House at this time was frowned upon by the Senate and allowed to die without coming to a vote. But such action could not down the spirit of reform. The public would not be appeased; and so, in the next Congress, another bill was introduced, with the President's support. To pass this bill, so much popular pressure was brought to bear on the Senate, that Senator Lodge, who opposed it, was led to say: "I have heard but two arguments of any weight adduced in favor of passing this reform bill. They are in substance these: First, we will blow your brains out if you don't pass it; and second, we will drag you through a horse-pond if you don't pass it."

In spite of such menacing arguments, however, it soon became apparent that the Senate would oppose the passage of

the bill; and when the public learned of the intention of the Senate, the ultra-radical agitators started a campaign of vilification against the opposition Senators such as the country had never witnessed before.

Then, at the height of this campaign, all sober-minded people were shocked beyond measure by the appearance in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* of a series of lurid articles entitled *The Treason of the Senate*, from the pen of David Graham Phillips, in an attempt to oust from the Senate, by methods that would have shamed Cicero in denouncing Catiline, those who opposed the popular clamor.

At the same time that these articles were appearing in the spring of 1906, the press was carrying items of news and editorials on the arrest of officials of the Western Federation of Miners, who were accused of complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho for opposing labor violence; and, from such sources, it appeared that organized labor was ready to abet, to encourage, and to condone wholesale murder to promote its war upon capital.

Surely, it seemed as if the world had gone mad; as if the people had lost all sense of decency; and as if the leaders of the masses were bent upon anarchy. A halt in this movement must be made. Self-respecting men could not be induced to take public office. Efficient men could not be procured even for such a work as the building of the Panama Canal. They would not subject themselves to such vile attacks and such virulent suspicions.

No man felt himself more injured by his allies than did Roosevelt. He was a middle-of-the-road reformer; and in no way a radical demagogue belonging to what he called the "lunatic fringe" of the reform movement.

Action, therefore, was forced upon him to rescue his work of reform from the zealots who gathered under his banners. On April 14, 1906, he accordingly determined to strike an effective blow for sanity and decency, in the movement to restrain capital from abuse.

While addressing a vast audience in Washington at the laying of the corner-stone of the Office Building for the House of Representatives, he took as his theme, *the man with the muck rake*. Borrowing a picture from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, he presented to his hearers his attitude toward the modern muck-raker. He was, said he, "a man who could look no way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up, nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor."

In this speech, Roosevelt said that he did not condemn mud-slinging as mud-slinging; and neither did he condone white-washing as white-washing. What he did object to, was mud-slinging for the mere sake of mud-slinging, for the sake of private profit, for the satisfaction of gloating over one's victim. What he did object to, was a villainous attack upon an honest man, or an untruthful attack even upon a dishonest man.

Such carnivals of mud-slinging would in the end destroy all values, defeat their own purpose, and undermine the Republic. What was needed now, he thought, was less of exposure and more of constructive statesmanship. The battle for the rights of the common people must go on; but it must raise itself, to be effective, above the level of the brothel.

In this speech, Roosevelt himself set forth examples of his own constructive statesmanship by appealing again, in a forceful and dignified manner, for the passage of his railway rate

bill, and by intimating that he intended to ask for a Federal graduated inheritance-tax to reduce swollen and ill-gotten fortunes.

For such proposals, however, by the very irony of fate, he immediately drew down upon his head the wrath of muck-rakers as being a muck-raker himself. By the capitalistic press, he was also hotly attacked as "having proposed the most radical and confiscatory assault upon property that had ever been heard of." One paper, in fact, went so far as to claim that his speech would "be a mortification to his friends and a real public misfortune; that indeed his mouthing had made even Bryan appear a reactionary, and Hearst a conservative; while it had elevated Debs, the socialist, and Powderly, the agitator, to the level of presidential statesmanship."

Such comments, however, were but the ravings of those who were being forced to adopt higher moral standards by Roosevelt's policies. For a time, muck-raking seemed to continue with unabated fury; but it is quite noticeable that historians have fixed upon the following year as the date of its decadence.

What part Roosevelt's address had in abating this national disgrace is matter of conjecture; but certain it is that Roosevelt's speech on this occasion was instantaneously hailed by critics as a classic; that it was widely printed and circulated; and that the only effect of its serious perusal could be an abatement of the evil which it so vividly condemned.

No speech could throw more light upon the character of the times; and no speech could present to posterity a more valuable lesson for those who hope to perpetuate, in the American Republic, the existence of a true and efficient democracy. With Washington's *Farewell Address*, Roosevelt's speech on *The Man with the Muck-Rake* will always stand forth as a timely and pertinent admonition to the American people.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE
APRIL 14, 1906

Over a century ago, Washington laid the corner-stone of the Capitol in what was then little more than a tract of wooded wilderness here beside the Potomac. We now find it necessary to provide by great additional buildings for the business of the government. This growth in the need for the housing of the government is but a proof and example of the way in which the extraordinary growth of population has been outstripped by the growth of wealth and the growth of complex interests. The material problems that face us today are not such as they were in Washington's time, but the underlying facts of human nature are the same now as they were then. Under altered external form we war with the same tendencies toward evil that were evident in Washington's time, and are helped by the same tendencies for good. It is about some of these that I wish to say a word today.

In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-Rake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.

In *Pilgrim's Progress*, the Man with the Muck-Rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most

needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

There are in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of, and attack upon, every evil man, whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in a book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said, easy to affect to misunderstand it, and, if it is slurred over in repetition, not difficult really to misunderstand it. Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mud-slinging does not mean the endorsement of white-washing; and both the interested individuals who need white-washing and those others who practice the mud-slinging like to encourage such confusion of ideas. One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in

business or men in public life is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised overmuch as just, people get tired of hearing it; and over-censure of the unjust finally and from similar reasons results in their favor.

Any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction; and, unfortunately, the reaction, instead of taking the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is very apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending or of giving immunity, and even strength, to offenders. The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and at the same time act as a profound deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price. As an instance in point, I may mention that one serious difficulty encountered in getting the right type of men to dig the Panama Canal is the certainty that they will be exposed, both without, and, I am sorry to say, sometimes within, Congress, to utterly reckless assaults on their character and capacity.

At the risk of repetition, let me say that my plea is not for immunity to, but for the most unsparing exposure of, the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful

fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and around about them; and, if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone. If the whole picture is painted black, there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of moral color-blindness; and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man really white, but that all are gray. In other words, they believe neither in the truth of the attack nor in the honesty of the man who is attacked; they grow suspicious of the accusation as of the offense; it becomes well-nigh hopeless to stir them either to wrath against wrongdoing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF ROOSEVELT'S ARMAGEDDON SPEECH

The *Armageddon Speech*, by Theodore Roosevelt, delivered before five thousand people in the Auditorium, at Chicago, on June 17, 1912, is one of the great historic pieces of American political oratory, truly epoch-making in its vital consequences. It has been described by one of Roosevelt's biographers as "a torrential speech calculated to rouse the passions rather

than the minds of his hearers,"—a speech, therefore, which can be compared to that earlier masterpiece of outbursting passion and eloquence, *The Cross of Gold*, by William Jennings Bryan.

This speech, Roosevelt delivered to a mass-meeting of his enthusiastic followers on the eve of the Republican National Convention of 1912, when it had become apparent that a terrific battle was impending for control of the convention, between the forces of progress and reform, who were supporting Roosevelt for the presidential nomination, and the forces of reaction and conservatism, who were using every effort to secure the re-nomination of the machine-candidate, William Howard Taft.

The *Armageddon Speech* came as the culminating blow of Roosevelt's bold and energetic campaign for the Republican nomination, upon which he had entered tardily and reluctantly as a leader of the Progressive faction less than four months earlier.

When Roosevelt returned from Africa in 1910, he was greatly disappointed with the course taken by President Taft as his successor in the office of the Chief-Executive, because he thought that his course was wholly inconsistent with the progressive policies for which he himself had fought; but, in spite of this disappointment, Roosevelt honestly hoped and planned to keep outside the swirl of politics.

He had scarcely landed in America, however, when he was importuned to aid Governor Charles E. Hughes of New York to secure, against terrific opposition, the enactment of a direct primary law; while, at the same time, he received two thousand requests to make addresses in various cities all over the country.

His resolution to steer clear of politics soon failed him under

pressure that was too great to withstand; and, accordingly, he planned a trip to the Far West, where he made historic speeches at Cheyenne, Wyoming; at Reno, Nevada; at Denver, Colorado; at Ossawatimie, Kansas; and at many other places in fourteen different States—setting forth progressive doctrines, which were sadly in need of a strong champion, and which afterwards became known collectively under the alluring title of *The New Nationalism*.

Upon returning from this trip, he entered, heart and soul, into the battle to secure a direct primary law for New York State; and, in the course of this conflict, he rose to a dominating position in the Republican State Convention, as its temporary chairman, dictating the platform of the party, and obtaining the nomination for governor of the Hughes candidate, Henry L. Stimson, whom he afterwards supported vigorously in a losing campaign.

Thus, Roosevelt was swept irresistibly back into the swirl of American politics. When Dolliver died in the fall of 1910, and when LaFollette broke down in February, 1912, it became more and more evident that the Progressive Republicans must turn to Roosevelt for leadership in the next presidential contest.

For month after month, however, Roosevelt refused to give the Progressive leaders any encouragement. He would say neither "yes" nor "no" to their demands; because he wished to be sure that these demands represented the popular will. Finally, however, a decision had to be made; and Frank A. Munsey, then editor of *The Press* of New York City, took upon himself the task of securing a statement from Roosevelt by making a public appeal to him to announce whether, if nominated, he would, or would not, refuse to run.

This appeal was made in January, 1912, without receiving at the time any public reply. Hence, it became necessary for

others to join in making the appeal more emphatic and more representative of a broad, popular demand. On February 12, accordingly, just such an irresistible appeal was made by the Republican governors of seven States, including Bass of New Hampshire, Glasscock of West Virginia, Osborn of Michigan, Stubbs of Kansas, Aldrich of Nebraska, Carey of Wyoming, and Hadley of Missouri.

But, still, Roosevelt made no statement; and it is doubtful whether he would have made any, had not President Taft, in New York, on February 14, attacked the doctrines set forth by Roosevelt in his speeches and articles on *The New Nationalism*, as originating in men who were "not progressives," but merely "political emotionalists or neurotics."

This speech of Taft's stung Roosevelt into action. On February 21, 1912, he replied to it vigorously in an historic speech, entitled *A Charter of Democracy*, which he delivered at Columbus, Ohio, before the State Constitutional Convention. In this speech, Roosevelt declared himself without reserve as favoring the policies of establishing the initiative and referendum, and the recall of judicial decisions. From that moment, as he himself expressed it, "his hat was in the ring"; his mind was made up; he knew he could not win; but he would make the fight; and, five days later, he announced to the country that he was a candidate for the Republican nomination.

Once committed to the cause of liberalism, and being an avowed candidate of the Progressives for the presidential nomination, Roosevelt determined that the campaign should not be a tame one. He knew, in fact, that he must fight with all his might, if he were to make an impression at all upon the forthcoming convention in June; for already the Taft forces, through the use of Federal patronage, had secured a formid-

able number of delegates from the Solid South, which never gave one electoral vote to the Republicans in the final election. To combat such an array of machine votes, Roosevelt must take his cause to the people of the Northern and Western States, where presidential primary laws permitted the people to express their choice in respect to presidential candidates. This, therefore, he did with extraordinary vim, appealing to the country chiefly through the press, but now and then making speeches, like his *Carnegie Hall Address*, on March 20, 1912, in which he brought forth involuntary cheers even from his enemies, the entrenched political bosses of New York State.

When the exciting canvass was finished, it was found that Taft had secured all the dummy delegates from the Solid South and all the delegates from States employing the convention system of nomination; but, in contrast with this record, Roosevelt seemed to have carried every State that had established a system of presidential primaries; while, in the important States of Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, and Ohio, Taft's own State, he had succeeded in "snowing under" his opponent.

Before the convention opened, it appeared that Roosevelt had about 470 delegates pledged for his nomination, and that Taft had about 455; but 540 were necessary to win; and the right of more than 200 delegates to be seated was contested. According to precedent, therefore, the Republican National Committee met in Chicago, ten days before the opening of the convention, and began to vote in secret upon the contested places to determine the temporary roll of delegates who should make up the convention. Before this committee, many a battle was fought; for its decisions were likely to determine the final nomination of the convention; but, in 92 cases that were con-

sidered, the Taft forces, who were in control of the committee, though in some cases they were not even accredited members of the convention, decided invariably against Roosevelt and for their own candidate.

Such treatment from the committee, of course, aroused a stern protest from the Roosevelt leaders; while public charges of "theft" and "robbery" were hurled at the committee in the press and by wildly excited stump-speakers.

At first, Roosevelt did not believe that his presence in Chicago at the convention would be necessary; but he was highly indignant at the course of the committee, and he was made more indignant when he found that the private telephone wire from Chicago to his home at Oyster Bay was being tapped by his enemies. There was nothing for him to do, he thought, but to go to Chicago and assume personal direction of his campaign. Accordingly, on Friday, June 14, he boarded the train at New York for Chicago, and took with him a large bodyguard and retinue of his kinsmen.

On his arrival in Chicago, he was greeted with such tumultuous applause from the throngs of countless thousands that it would appear as if all America had become frenzied in supporting his candidacy. He went at once to the Congress Hotel; and, stepping out upon a balcony, he made a brief speech in which he branded his opponents as thieves. Then followed two days of wild excitement in which rumors flew thick and fast, when the Progressive headquarters in the Congress Hotel seemed to be a bedlam of speech-making, band-playing, parading of delegates, and cheering that knew no end for Roosevelt, who himself was spoken of as the "Big Noise."

Then, on Monday evening, June 17, the day before the opening of the convention, a huge rally of Progressives was planned in the Auditorium Theater. Five thousand persons

wedged their way into the building, and many more than that number stood patiently in the street cheering themselves hoarse and echoing the applause that was heard from within.

At first, Senator Borah and the Chairman of the Roosevelt campaign committee addressed the crowd and brought forth thunderous applause; but, when the idol of the Progressives himself appeared, the uproar of applause seemed to break all precedents. This cheering was then interrupted by the singing of *America*, but was resumed thereafter without any prospect of cessation, until the Colonel came forward with a beaming smile and outstretched arms that demanded silence.

Such a speech as Roosevelt delivered on this occasion has seldom been heard. As his biographer has said, it was a torrential outburst of passion and eloquence, expressing righteous indignation and a determination not to submit to injustice. Again and again, he repeated the charge of theft against his opponents, and was applauded by cries from the audience of "Bully for you!"—"Hit 'em hard!"—"Go at 'em!"—"Knock out the steam-roller!"—while thousands were content to shout, at every pause, the only thought that was on their minds, "Teddy—Teddy—Teddy!"

This speech, perhaps, would sink into oblivion like many others, however, had it not been for the high and impassioned eloquence of its peroration, in which Roosevelt maintained that the struggle was one in which no one should be spared, in which men were to offer themselves with all that they had, to spend and be spent, for the great cause; that, in fact, we had come to "Armageddon" and must "battle for the Lord!"

The effect of this speech was felt in the convention that followed, in the course that was taken by Roosevelt's progressive followers, in the open split that came between factions of the Republican party, in the calling of another convention for

Progressives of all parties, in the violent campaign that ensued, and in the ultimate election of President Wilson over Roosevelt, his principal competitor, with Taft polling an electoral vote that was almost negligible.

By this speech, Roosevelt so bound his followers to him, that, throughout the tumultuous convention that followed, they made it plain that they would fight to the last ditch against seating delegates whose claims were fraudulent, and that, if a nomination were made by the votes of such delegates, it would not be binding upon the party.

Such a nomination was made, however, and it was therefore necessary to carry out the threat of the Progressives. With Roosevelt as their own candidate—the candidate of a third party—they carried on the fight, with enthusiasm that sometimes resembled religious frenzy or religious exaltation; and, through it all, they remembered devoutly the impassioned words of their idolized leader: “We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord.”

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE ARMAGEDDON SPEECH

JUNE 17, 1912

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens: I address you as my fellow-Republicans, but I also and primarily address you as fellow-Americans, fellow-citizens; for this has now become much more than an ordinary party fight. The issue is both simpler and larger than that involved in the personality of any man, or than that involved in any factional or in any ordinary party contest.

It is not a partisan issue; it is more than a political issue; it is a great moral issue. If we condone political theft, if we do not resent the kinds of wrong and injustice that injuriously

affect the whole nation, not merely our democratic form of government, but our civilization can not endure.

Tonight, we come together to protest against a crime which strikes straight at the heart of every principle of political decency and honesty, a crime which represents treason to the people and the usurpation of the sovereignty of the people by irresponsible political bosses, inspired by the sinister influences of moneyed privilege.

We are against privilege. We believe in striking down every bulwark of privilege. And, above all, we are against the evil alliance of special privilege in business, with special business in politics. We believe in giving the people a free hand to work in efficient fashion for true justice. To the big man and to the little man, in all the relations of life, we pledge justice and fair dealing.

A period of change is upon us. Our opponents, the men of inaction, ask us to stand still. But we could not stand still if we would. We must either go forward or go backward. Never was the need more imperative than now for men of vision who are also men of action.

Disaster is ahead of us if we trust to the leadership of men whose souls are seared and whose eyes are blinded, men of cold heart and narrow mind, who believe we can find safety in dull timidity and dull inaction. The unrest can not be quieted by ingenious trickery of those who profess to advance by merely marking time, or who seek to drown the cry for justice by loud and insincere clamor about issues that are false and issues that are dead.

The trumpets sound the advance, and their appeal can not be drowned by repeating the war-cries of bygone battles, the victory shouts of vanished hosts. Here, in this city of the State of Lincoln, I can set forth the principles for which we

stand today in the words which Lincoln used fifty-four years ago, when in speaking at that time of the eternal struggle between privilege and justice, between the rights of the many and the special interest of the few, he said:

"That is the real issue. That is the issue which will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time. The one is the common right of humanity, the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it envelops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You toil and work and earn bread, and I will eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who bestrides the people of his own nation and who lives from the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Were Lincoln alive today, he would add that it is also the same principle which is now at stake when we fight on behalf of the many against the oppressor in modern industry, whether the abuse of special privilege be by a man whose wealth is great or is little, whether by the multi-millionaire owner of railways and mines and factories who forgets his duties to those who earn his bread while earning their own, or by the owner of the foul little sweatshop who coins dollars from the excessive and underpaid labor of haggard women.

We who stand for the cause of progress are fighting to make this country a better place to live in for those who have been harshly treated by fate; and, if we succeed, it will also be a better place for those who are well off.

None of us can really prosper permanently if masses of our

fellows are debased and degraded, if they are ground down and forced to live starved and sordid lives, so that their souls are crippled like their bodies and the fine edge of their every feeling blunted.

We ask that those of our people to whom fate has been kind shall remember that each is his brother's keeper, and that all of us whose veins thrill with abounding vigor shall feel our obligation to the less fortunate who work wearily beside us in the strain and stress of our eager modern life.

Friends, here in Chicago, at this time, you have a great task before you. I wish you to realize deep in your hearts that you are not merely facing a crisis in the history of a party. You are facing a crisis in the history of a nation; and what you do will have an appreciable effect throughout the world at large.

We stand for the cause of the uplift of humanity and the betterment of mankind. We are pledged to eternal war against wrong, whether by the few or the many, by a plutocracy or by a mob. We believe that this country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live in, unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in.

The sons of all of us will pay in the future, if we of the present do not do justice to all in the present. Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all. The present contest is but a phase of the larger struggle. Assuredly, the fight will go on, whether we win or lose; but it will be a sore disaster to lose. What happens to me is not of the slightest consequence. I am to be used, as in a doubtful battle any man is used, to his hurt or not, so long as he is useful, and is then cast aside or left to die.

I wish you to feel this. I mean it; and I shall need no sympathy when you are through with me; for this fight is

far too great to permit us to concern ourselves about any one man's welfare. If we are true to ourselves by putting far above our own interests the triumph of the high cause for which we battle, we shall not lose.

It would be far better to fail honorably for the cause we champion than it would be to win by foul methods—the foul victory for which our opponents hope.

But the victory shall be ours, and it shall be won, as we have already won so many victories, by clean and honest fighting for the loftiest of causes.

We fight in honorable fashion for the good of mankind; fearless of the future, unheeding of our individual fates, with unflinching hearts and undimmed eyes; we stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord.

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COLLATERAL STUDIES OF SPEECH-TEXTS

On Roosevelt's *The Man with the Muck-Rake*

- I. What was the date of the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol at Washington?
- II. How long was it before Washington developed into a beautiful and populous city?—What was its environment in Madison's time?—in Jackson's time?—in Lincoln's time?—See Elson's *Hist. of U. S.*, 375; Goodwin's *Dolly Madison*, 79-83; Bowers's *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, I-11; Dickens's *American Notes* (1842) Chap. VIII; descriptions of Lincoln's first inauguration.

- III. What were the underlying facts of human nature that were the same in Washington's time as in Roosevelt's time?—See Irving's *Life of Washington*, Vol. V, Chap. 31, last paragraphs.
- IV. What is the story concerning (1) people becoming weary of hearing Aristides called *The Just*—See Plutarch's *Lives*; (2) the efforts of the government to procure men to build the Panama Canal?
- V. In what part of *Pilgrim's Progress* does the story of the Man with the Muck-Rake occur?

On Roosevelt's *The Armageddon Speech*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Roosevelt was familiar with: (1) Bryan's *Cross of Gold Speech*; (2) *Genesis*, 4:9; (3) *Revelations*, 16-16?
- II. What were: (1) the political theft of which Roosevelt spoke—See Bishop, II, 320-333; (2) the speech of Lincoln from which Roosevelt quoted; (3) Armageddon—See Bailey and Kent's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, 77.
- III. Who were: (1) the so-called "dull, blind, narrow, timid" men, whose leadership Roosevelt repudiated; (2) the "false or dead" issues to which Roosevelt referred; (3) the multi-millionaire owners of railways of mines—of factories to whom Roosevelt referred?
- IV. How was the prophecy of Roosevelt fulfilled, that "a period of change is upon us"?

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. celestial 2. deterrent 3. epidemic 4. feats 5. flinch 6. gross 7. hysterical 8. immunity 9. interested 10. knavery 11. lurid 12. mendacity 13. morbid 14. premium 15. reckless 16. slander 17. whit.

1. condone 2. haggard 3. imperative 4. incitement 5. plutocracy 6. scared 7. sinister 8. stump 9. sweatshop 10. white-washing.

CHAPTER XXI

WOODROW WILSON

THE PLACE OF WILSON AMONG POLITICAL ORATORS OF THE PERIOD OF THE WORLD WAR

Woodrow Wilson, in the second decade of the twentieth century, like Theodore Roosevelt in the first, was the great, dominating figure in American political oratory. In many respects, the complete antithesis of Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, nevertheless, in one important respect, resembled strongly his recent predecessor in the presidency; for both Wilson and Roosevelt were spokesmen of reform, shunning the ultra-radical element in their respective parties, but at the same time forcing the ultra-conservative elements in these parties to enact great blocks of Progressive legislation. What Roosevelt was to the ultra-radical LaFollette, Wilson was to the ultra-radical Bryan. And what Roosevelt did in bringing the Progressive element to dominate the Republican party, Wilson duplicated in bringing that same element to dominate the policies of the Democratic party.

The one great, outstanding difference between these two powerful leaders of public opinion was to be found in their foreign policy. Both achieved distinction for their labors in behalf of universal peace; both, for example, were recipients of the famous Nobel Peace Prize; but Roosevelt won this prize while advocating isolation, arbitration, and military preparedness; whereas Wilson won it while advocating international co-operation, a league to enforce peace, and a program of universal disarmament.

By the irony of fate, Woodrow Wilson, the pacifistic statesman, became the great spokesman of American idealism during the most devastating war in the world's history. Elected on a platform for Progressive reform in respect to America's internal problems, Woodrow Wilson was forced, before the expiration of his first term, to become the organizer of American sentiment in respect to reforms in our foreign policy that were more far-reaching and revolutionary than any that had ever been proposed since the formation of the government.

In the year 1914, when President Wilson had just completed his work of pushing through Congress an elaborate program of domestic reform in Federal legislation, the great World War broke out in Europe. An Austrian arch-duke was assassinated in the Balkans. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia and France began to mobilize. Germany came to the assistance of Austria. Efforts to prevent a general conflagration broke down. German armies invaded the neutralized territory of Belgium, overran that kingdom, and began a terrific drive against France. Great Britain came to the assistance of her allies, France and Russia; Bulgaria and Turkey joined the alliance of Central Europe; and Italy, after some delay, joined the so-called Entente Allies, to form a ring of steel around the Central Powers. Never since the time of Napoleon had Europe witnessed such a cataclysm of war. The Napoleonic wars, in fact, were dwarfed by comparison with this great uprising of nations in arms.

What was to be the attitude of America? So far as Bryan was concerned—and Bryan's attitude was important, because he was Wilson's first Secretary-of-State—the policy of America was to be one of "peace-at-any-price." So far as Roosevelt was concerned—and his attitude was important, because he was the most conspicuous leader of militant nationalism—the

policy of America was to be that we should throw in our lot with the Entente Allies at once against Germany to avenge the wrongs of Belgium. So far as the moneyed interests were concerned—and they were still powerful in both parties, especially throughout the East—the policy of America was to sell as much ammunition and war material as possible to the Entente Allies. And so far as the vast population of German-Americans was concerned—a population that exerted a powerful influence especially in the Middle West—the policy of America was to deny to the Entente Allies whatever could not be provided in like measure to the Central Powers. But so far as President Wilson was concerned—and, after all, his attitude, for the most part, determined public sentiment—the policy of America was to preserve a strict neutrality “in word, deed, and thought”; to seize every opportunity to extend our good offices for the re-establishment of peace; and to promote in every way a project to use this war as a means to organize a league of nations against all future wars.

Had the European War been of short duration, President Wilson might easily have maintained his policy of disinterested neutrality; but, contrary to expectations, it developed into a protracted life-and-death struggle. The naval blockade, established by the Entente Allies, gradually threatened to undermine the German power. Retaliatory measures were, therefore, undertaken by the Germans. Incendiarism and labor troubles were fomented in American munition factories to check the flow of war materials to Germany's enemies. Plots were hatched to involve us in war with Mexico. And a ruthless submarine warfare was declared upon all shipping in a restricted, or barred, zone, off the shores of Great Britain and France, and in the Mediterranean.

This ruthless submarine warfare first turned the tide of

sentiment in America overwhelmingly toward the Entente Allies. Beginning with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, on May 7, 1915, ship after ship, carrying American citizens and American goods, was sent to the bottom without warning and without effort to save the survivors. With every disaster, a fresh explosion of wrath occurred in America. A seemingly endless succession of diplomatic notes was sent to Germany in an effort to obtain a cessation of ruthless methods in submarine warfare. From time to time, promises of reform were obtained; then withdrawn; then given once more; and finally withdrawn altogether.

For two years after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, President Wilson exercised an almost superhuman forbearance; while he attempted to perform the double rôle of preserving peace and of maintaining our rights at home and on the high seas. And, throughout all this time, he was subjected to the hot fire of censure; first, by the war party for his pacifism, and then by the peace party for his belligerency.

Gradually he was driven by the course of events, by the necessity of making good his intermittent threats against Germany, and by the clamor of the war party to abandon his position of complete neutrality; to favor, in its stead, a program of armed neutrality and of military preparedness; and, at last, under extreme provocation, to advocate actual war to the hilt against Germany in co-operation with the Entente Allies.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson went before Congress and asked for a declaration of war. On April 7, war was declared. Then began a tumult of tardy preparation. Troops were to be raised. Ships were to be built. Loans were to be floated. Transportation was to be organized. Munition factories were to be expanded. Food was to be produced and

conserved. Fuel, clothing, and every necessity of life must be provided for ourselves and for our Allies.

Seldom had such a gigantic task fallen upon the American people; but almost overnight the response was made and the task accomplished. Only the appearance of American troops on the firing line seemed to lag. Long training was necessary, and much time was required to get our armies overseas. At last, however, in 1918, they began to appear as separate divisions at the front. In the great onward movement that marked the turning point in the tide of war, they took a conspicuous and glorious part. With their coming, the fate of Germany was sealed. On November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed; and soon, thereafter, the historic Peace Conference at Versailles assembled to negotiate a just and lasting peace. •

In this Conference, President Wilson appeared as the principal spokesman for America. Long before, he had outlined for the world, in his famous fourteen points, the principles upon which he believed the peace should be established. Day after day, he labored manfully to see these points incorporated in the treaty; but, day after day, he found it necessary to concede to his allies one point after another, in order that he might secure his most cherished goal, the establishment of a league of nations to prevent future wars.

At last, he emerged from the Conference. He had achieved this one great purpose. Returning to America, he placed the treaty before the Senate. For weeks and months, he labored with that body to secure its approval for the terms of peace. But all to no avail. The great War President was on the point of being deserted by his own people. He had a premonition of disaster; and, characteristically, he took his cause directly, over the heads of the Senate, to the American people. In a great speech-making campaign, he toured the country from coast to coast to revive support for his idealism. But

again he found that the people had fallen away from the heights of his exalted leadership. No longer could they be inspired with his vision of future peace by schemes for international co-operation. From such a program of foreign entanglement, they desired unmistakably to retreat, and, under the banner of nationalism, to seek safety in the age-old policy of isolation.

Crushed by the strain of his endeavor, Wilson returned to Washington a broken man. His idealism was shattered. His treaty was rejected. His party was ousted from the government. Under a new administration, a separate peace with Germany was negotiated; the broken threads of his diplomacy were taken up; and the effort to obtain universal peace was once more undertaken, not through a comprehensive project for a league of nations, but through projects for periodic conferences on disarmament, and through proposals for adherence, under limitations, to the World Court, which had been established in connection with the League of Nations.

Such, in brief, is the history of the two administrations of Woodrow Wilson, when, beyond the shadow of a doubt, he was the foremost political orator of America—at first the great orator of reform; then the foremost orator for complete neutrality; later the reluctant advocate of preparedness and war; and finally the brilliant and forceful spokesman for international good-will and understanding in behalf of a league of nations to promote universal peace.

Though, by all odds, Woodrow Wilson was the foremost political orator of the period of the World War, he was not, by any means, the only orator to catch the public ear in this period of frenzied agitation. Against him, from the beginning, in favor of preparedness and war, were Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, whose utterances in condemnation of his peace policies burned and seared the public conscience.

Against him, also, for his vacillating foreign policy, in the campaign year of 1916, were the Republican key-note speakers, Elihu Root, and the Republican presidential candidate, Charles Evans Hughes. Only in 1917, when he asked for a declaration of war, did he have with him the almost unanimous support of great contemporary orators, including Roosevelt and Lodge, Root and Hughes, the venerable Joseph H. Choate, Franklin K. Lane, James M. Beck, Thomas R. Marshall, and William E. Borah. Yet, even at this time, he was opposed most strenuously by such pacifist orators as William J. Bryan and Robert M. LaFollette. Then, when the great battle of his lifetime came, to secure the ratification of his peace treaty, which included the Covenant of the League of Nations, he had the support of such scholarly orators as Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, William Howard Taft and A. Lawrence Lowell; but against him, in the field of political oratory was arrayed the talent and power of such speakers as Henry Cabot Lodge, William E. Borah, and Hiram W. Johnson. Even his political opponents, however, could not wholly disregard the goals of his foreign policy; and hence, after his retirement, such other speakers as Warren G. Harding and Charles Evans Hughes took up the task of reviving the crushed and broken spirit of international good-will.

Small, indeed, however, will be the permanent fame of these other political orators during the World War period of American history, as compared with that of Woodrow Wilson. Each, in turn, to be sure, had his period of influence; but none so continuously and so brilliantly moulded public sentiment in the service of high ideals as did Woodrow Wilson, whose untiring efforts were given to the project of converting the frenzy of war into a gigantic crusade for peace, good-will, and better understanding among the nations of the world.

THE LIFE OF WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson, America's war-time President, has often been called the chief exponent of American scholarship and American idealism in practical politics. An ardent reformer both in the domestic, and in the foreign, policies of the nation, he was trusted and feared, loved and hated, revered and scorned, for his championship of the cause of universal peace and better understanding among the nations of the world. By partisan followers, he was hailed as a statesman, whose name should be placed with those of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, and whose influence in history would be comparable to that of Washington and Lincoln; while, at the same time, by partisan opponents, he was denounced as a timid, vacillating leader, with a "one-track mind," whose impractical idealism would sacrifice to the evil machinations of European diplomacy all that America held dear, its independence, its patriotism, its security, and its prestige, as a leading nation among the great world powers.

Whatever may be the verdict of history, however, upon the baffling questions that surround the character and personality of Wilson, the present generation may be sure of this one point at least: that, during the period of his two administrations, he was not only one of the foremost statesmen of the world, but also a world-renowned orator, whose eloquence crushed the morale of militaristic empires, and bespoke the righteous aspirations of down-trodden peoples, throughout the earth, even among the remote tribes of the desert, and in the far-off islands of the sea.

This conspicuous statesman and powerful political orator was born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, who, two years later, removed with his

family to Augusta, Georgia. The boyhood and youth of Woodrow Wilson were spent, therefore, in a region that witnessed the terrible tumult and havoc of the Civil War, with the subsequent disaster of carpetbag government in the days of reconstruction; but, strange to say, Wilson imbibed from his surroundings none of the fierce passions of sectional hatred, and strove only to understand the historic forces at play, with a desire to unite them for the fulfillment of his democratic ideals.

After studying for one year at Davidson College, in North Carolina, he entered Princeton, and graduated with the class of 1879. He immediately began the study of law at the University of Virginia; and, on being admitted to the bar, he undertook, for a single year, in 1882 and 1883, to practice his profession in Atlanta, Georgia. Law, however, was distasteful to him except in its philosophical aspects; hence, he prepared himself for the teaching profession by graduate study at Johns-Hopkins University. Receiving his doctorate of philosophy in 1885, he began his long career as a teacher by an appointment as lecturer in Johns-Hopkins; and, thereafter, he occupied chairs in history, political economy, and jurisprudence, at Bryn Mawr, Connecticut Wesleyan, and Princeton.

In 1902, he was chosen as the first non-clerical president of Princeton University; and, for eight years, in that capacity, he strove to inculcate democratic ideals in the life of the campus, and to promote much-needed reform by the establishment of a preceptorial system of instruction.

When, at last, the bitterness of college politics in opposition to his policies was fast developing a crisis, he was nominated in 1910 by the Democratic party as the reform candidate for the governorship of New Jersey; and, after an exciting canvass, he was elected by a decisive majority to that office.

His record as a reform-governor presents one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of State governments during that period; for, within two years, against the opposition of powerful political bosses, he brought about reforms relating to direct primaries, a public service commission, commission government, the civil service, the State school-system, corrupt practices, the incorporation of trusts, hours of labor for women, indeterminate sentences, widows' pensions, and scientific poor relief.

While still governor, in 1912, he was nominated and elected by the Democrats to the presidency of the United States; and, in that office, during the first two years of his first administration, he immediately duplicated his previous remarkable record for achievements in reform.

Not only did he bring about a quick reduction in the tariff, but he also secured the passage of laws creating the Federal Reserve System, a system of rural credits, a Federal Trade Commission, and a tariff-board; with other laws against child-labor, for an Alaskan railway, repealing toll-exemptions for American vessels in the Panama Canal, promising independence to the Philippines, and establishing a Federal income-tax.

Seldom before has the work of any administration been more highly praised than that of Wilson in his first two years of office; but, soon, this praise was changed to scorn on the part of many for his alleged weakness in dealing with our foreign relations. Both in Mexico and in Europe a trying situation arose through the destruction of American lives and property during successive Mexican revolutions, and during attacks upon neutral commerce by European belligerents in the first years of the World War. For his policy of "watchful waiting" in Mexico, Wilson was severely criticised and ridiculed by a large portion of the American people; but for his

policy of "neutrality in word, deed, and thought" toward the European belligerents, and for his statement about being "too proud to fight" after the *Lusitania* disaster, he was not only severely criticised and ridiculed, but he was also denounced and scorned by numberless people throughout the country.

During his diplomatic correspondence with Germany, he was admired and condemned alternately by his opponents, who approved each threat that he uttered and who disapproved his failure to act or to make preparations for action after his successive threats to hold Germany to a strict accountability for its attacks upon our commerce in its submarine warfare.

Throughout all this period of note-writing, however, Wilson's policy, or lack of policy, was applauded to the echo by members of his own party in the South and West, and by all enthusiastic advocates of peace; and, though at last he was driven to make strenuous efforts for half-hearted preparedness, in the presidential campaign of 1916 he was supported and elected by those who admired him for keeping us out of war.

Great was the irony of this presidential contest, however; for Wilson, himself, never promised that he would keep us out of war at any cost; and, even before his second inauguration in March, 1917, he became more and more enmeshed in the European struggle.

When, at last, he had unearthed plots of the Austrian and German embassies to embroil us in domestic anarchy and foreign war with Mexico, and when his last ultimatum on German submarine attacks was answered by further outrages, he severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers, asked Congress to authorize the armament of our merchant vessels, and then in a final burst of eloquent indignation led the nation into war.

Scorning the idea that the war was one of revenge, he

immediately raised it to the level of a great crusade, inspiring not only his own people but all the peoples of the world as well, with the thought that this was a war to end war; that it was a war to make "the world safe for democracy"; and that it was a war of liberation, on the principle of "self-determination," for all oppressed peoples and down-trodden nationalities.

This was the high ideal that Wilson held constantly before the world in all his utterances; this was the high ideal that gradually crushed the morale of the Central Powers; and this was the ideal that Wilson took with him to the Peace Conference in Paris at the termination of the war.

Such an ideal, however, was insufficient to command the permanent allegiance of European and American statesmen. At the Peace Conference, Wilson could obtain little more than his one cherished goal, a covenant for a league of nations; but, triumphant in this attainment, he returned buoyantly to America to seek from the Senate a ratification of the treaty to which he had subscribed.

Never in our history has America descended so quickly from the heights of a lofty idealism to the utmost depths of groveling party strife as it did on this occasion. Refusing to ratify the treaty without reservations in the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Republican party in the Senate entered immediately upon a battle royal to defeat the treaty and to overthrow both the President and the Democratic party in the forthcoming presidential contest of 1920.

Nothing daunted by the opposition he encountered, President Wilson took his cause directly to the people, and succeeded partially in stemming the tide of popular sentiment against the treaty. The great strain of this last titanic effort, however, added to the strain of his recent heroic labors at the peace table, was too much for his already undermined phy-

sique; and, though battling bravely to the very end against the orders of his physician, he at last collapsed, and returned to Washington, stricken with paralysis, and unable to undertake further any active leadership in the struggle for ratifying the treaty.

No tragedy in history is more pathetic than President Wilson's losing fight on behalf of his great ideal; for, within a few brief months, he descended from a position in which he was hailed as arbiter of the world's destinies, to a position in which only a minority of his own people were willing to pay him homage.

Confined to his bed, he was compelled to witness the defeat of his treaty in the Senate; and still unable to appear in public, he saw with sorrow the overthrow of his policies and his party in the elections of 1920; but brave and hopeful to the end, through four more years of suffering in quiet retirement, he gained even from his opponents some meed of admiration, and held, throughout it all, the veneration of those who had shared his vision.

The feeble old man, in these latter days supporting himself with difficulty on a cane, and sometimes appearing momentarily to pilgrims who sought his home as a shrine, served to recall in a pathetic way the former majesty of him who had swayed the world by his chaste and scholarly eloquence.

To many, this apparition recalled the times when President Wilson, as an instructor, had charmed large audiences of students in his lecture hall at Princeton by the beautiful cadence of his voice and by his power to arouse and persuade the intellect through the clarity and orderliness of his talk, brightened always by bland humor and tingling wit. To others, it recalled the times when President Wilson, as a reform candidate in State or national campaigns, swayed hundreds and

thousands by his beautifully constructed impromptu stump-speeches from the rear platforms of special trains, or in the tremendous auditoriums of convention halls throughout the country. But to most, it must have recalled the times, when like an inspired prophet, he stood before the assembled representatives of the nation in the halls of Congress, and, quietly speaking words of counsel and exhortation, delivered, there, immortal messages that shook the thrones of tyrants and raised the hopes of millions throughout the civilized world.

The position that Woodrow Wilson will occupy permanently in the history of his country cannot be determined until time has provided a proper perspective upon his achievements; but, even now, it may be fair to say of him, as his eulogist did in Congress: that he "evoked no such popular devotion as did Henry Clay, or James G. Blaine, or Theodore Roosevelt. . . . As an executive, he was not an incarnation of action like Napoleon or Roosevelt. . . . But his ambition to serve his country was as intense as that of Cromwell. . . . He was willing to die, and he did die, to guarantee to humble men a fairer chance in a juster world. . . . As death enfolded him in its shadows, men came to comprehend that a man of great faith had lived in their era, and that a prophet had guided their country and stirred the heart of mankind in an hour of destiny."

These were the words of one of Wilson's disciples. They may throw upon their subject the ultimate light of truth; but when, to these words, others of like tenor are added from President Coolidge, a Republican, then, at least, a fair contemporary estimate of Wilson may be obtained.

At the time of Wilson's death in February, 1924, President Coolidge said of him, in a proclamation to the people of the United States, that, as President, Mr. Wilson "was moved by

an earnest desire to promote the best interests of the country as he conceived them. His acts were prompted by high motives and his sincerity of purpose can not be questioned. He led the nation through the terrific struggle of the World War with a lofty idealism which never failed him. He gave utterance to the aspirations of humanity with an eloquence which held the attention of all the earth, and made America a new and enlarged influence in the destiny of mankind."

HISTORICAL SETTING OF WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE

The War Message to Congress of President Wilson, delivered on April 2, 1917, is one of the great state papers of the world's history; and, at the same time, it is a sublime masterpiece of scholarly eloquence that will always rank among the world's greatest orations—an address that resembles Lincoln's *Second Inaugural* in its spirit of "malice toward none, with charity for all," but "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." Not since the beginning of time had the utterance of any statesman given to so many millions throughout the world such a message of hope for deliverance from oppression and from strife; and, never since Lincoln had any American statesman expressed so clearly and so fervently the American spirit of idealism, reluctantly entering upon war to end all war, and to elevate its horrors from the sordid plane of brutal rancor and revenge to the higher plane of a crusade for justice and humanity—to "make the world safe for democracy," to spread the doctrine that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and to create "a universal dominion of right by a concert of free peoples" that should "bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

This speech, suggesting a complete reversal of Woodrow Wilson's attitude toward the World War, yet thoroughly consistent with every previous utterance of his political philosophy, if these utterances are carefully examined, was brought forth in one of those great international crises which "Tom" Paine would have described as "a time that tries men's souls."

Most valiantly, Woodrow Wilson had striven, in the face of bitter calumny and reproach, to keep us out of the European conflict, to maintain our neutrality, to assert our rights, to prepare reasonably against eventualities, and to bring peace among the warring nations before we became involved; but, gradually, in spite of all his efforts, he found that the nation was being drawn by swirling eddies and back-currents into the very vortex of the gigantic maelstrom.

He had declared, at first, that we must be neutral "in word, and deed, and thought"; he had protested with equal vigor against encroachment on our rights by Great Britain and Germany; he had spoken of "such a thing as being too proud to fight"; and he had pleaded for "a peace without victory." He had threatened in February, 1915, to hold Germany to "a strict accountability" for the acts of its submarine commanders; he had said in July, 1915, after the *Lusitania* tragedy, that a repetition of the outrage would be construed as "deliberately unfriendly"; he had demanded an abandonment of Germany's methods in submarine warfare, with a threat of breaking off diplomatic relations, in April, 1916, after the sinking of the *Sussex*; and he had been compelled to carry out this threat, when, on February 1, 1917, the German government announced its intention to resume an unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare on Allied and neutral commerce within a barred zone about the British Isles.

He had been patient almost beyond endurance, while constantly he was being made aware of the fact that German spies and German propaganda were seeking to throw us into war against Great Britain, to turn our neutrality, by an embargo on arms, into a weapon against Great Britain, and to foment strikes and to plant bombs in our munition factories, on our railroads, and on the ships in our harbors, in order that we might not engage in legitimate trade with Great Britain and her allies.

All this he endured with patient remonstrance, until, on February 3, 1917, he broke off relations with Germany. Then, while peace societies of every kind were dogging his footsteps, he determined to maintain an armed neutrality by placing guns upon our merchantmen. He asked of Congress the right to put this measure into effect; and, after witnessing a prolonged filibuster against it led by LaFollette, he himself gave orders, on his own authority, to see that our vessels went armed for protection against submarine attack.

At the time of his second inauguration on March 5, 1917, Wilson still hoped that peace might be preserved, though he was disturbed by the disclosures that Germany had been intriguing with Mexico and with Japan to attack us in case war became imminent. Throughout the month of March, his mind was torn by divided counsel; but, gradually, it began to settle upon the necessity of war. The revolution that took place during that month in Russia inspired him to believe that, at last, the Allies presented a solid front of democracy against autocracy, thereby paving the way for America's entrance into the war against Germany. In company with all the great democracies of the world, surely America would not be out of place; but still Wilson hesitated through his instinctive horror of war.

What finally turned his mind unalterably to join this nation to the Allies will never be definitely known; but one of his biographers has said, that, being "conscious of a united public opinion and being resentful of the violation of American rights, he determined to enter the contest because he believed, first, that the United States must aid the Allies to win, and second, that the entrance of the United States into the war was the surest means of forcing peace."

On March 21, 1917, the President issued a summons for Congress to meet in extraordinary session on April 2, "to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken under immediate consideration." Everybody jumped to the conclusion that this meant war in all probability; but the President himself was not sure what he should recommend until ten days later. He dreaded the declaration; and, hoping against hope, he put it off to the last moment. On the night of March 31, however, his biographer says, that "he felt definitely the end of peace was at hand. He was restless in his bed, got up, went out on the south veranda of the White House, took his little typewriter with him. Mrs. Wilson heard him, and quietly went to the kitchen, put a bowl of milk and crackers by his side and left him. There, in the early morning, he wrote his war note. All day, it was with him, and he considered it carefully, perhaps changing it here and there as men do, who hold an important manuscript with them during many hours of crisis. He sent for his friend, Frank Cobb, of the *New York World*. Cobb was delayed in coming. At one o'clock in the morning, Cobb found the President in his office."

As Cobb reported, he had never seen the President so worn down. The President said he was going to ask Congress the next day to declare war; but he had never been so uncertain of

a decision in his life. For nights, he had been lying awake going over the whole situation and he could see no alternative. He said he knew exactly what war meant; that we should go war-mad; that in the end we should lose all our peace-time standards; that we should have to create a spirit of ruthless brutality and intolerance; that he would strive against it; but that, before the war closed, the Constitution might be shattered and the right of free speech and of assembly might be gone. No nation, he said, could put its strength into war and keep its head level; it never had been done. Was there no alternative? For himself, he could see none. He would rather do anything than head a military machine. All his instincts were against it. He knew exactly what the result would be on his own fortunes—at first, adulation following victory, and then derision and attack following the deflation of excessive hopes and in the presence of world responsibility. But, if he had to do it over again, he would take the same course. It was only a choice of evils.

In this way, Woodrow Wilson braced himself for his task of addressing Congress the next day. He waited until evening for both Houses to organize, and all day long he heard reports of disturbances in the city, as pacifist organizations, recruited by thousands from every State of the Union, attempted to make demonstrations against war. Every Senator and Congressman was to be interviewed by them; and, as they forced their way against the police into the Senate and House Office Buildings, many a fist fight occurred. Some Senators refused to see them. The Vice President was forced to have them ejected from his office; and Senator Lodge, being insulted by one of them in his office, boldly struck him down and put him out. By nightfall, however, the authorities had eliminated all possibility of disturbance; and troops of cavalry, assisted

by swarms of secret service men, were on guard to protect the Capitol and its approaches from these friends of peace.

When, at eight-thirty in the evening, President Wilson came by automobile through the crowded streets from the White House to the Capitol, the scene was indescribably dramatic. Multitudes of people were pouring down the avenues toward the Capitol, and there, against an inky sky, were etched the terraces, and pillars, and dome of the stately structure, blazing white in the glare of more than a hundred searchlights, while near the top of the dome were four flags, fluttering before a stiff breeze, with their stars and stripes brilliantly illumined by skillfully directed shafts of light.

Inside the building, which was surrounded by troops of cavalry in dress-uniform and with drawn sabers, both Houses of Congress were preparing to receive the President. In the Hall of Representatives, Congressmen, cabinet officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and justices of the Supreme Court were gathered. When the doors were opened, the Senate entered and marched down the center aisle to the seats allotted them, each man, save two or three, carrying or wearing an American flag.

The President was the last to arrive, and the cheers that greeted him were deafening. A deep silence followed. Then, after being presented to the tense assemblage by Speaker Clark, he drew from his coat pocket his prepared address, and began to read the fateful words that were to bring the United States into the great World War.

As he stood there, turning the pages of his manuscript, he was visibly nervous and his fingers trembled. His face was pale. His voice was neither strong nor clear, and he seemed to be deeply affected by the awfulness of his task.

His distinguished audience listened in profound silence as he

developed America's case without bluster and without rancor; and there was no applause until he said, that "we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated."

Before he had finished this sentence, his fifteen hundred auditors knew that he purposed war, and instantaneously they burst into a terrific uproar of applause.

A moment later, when he declared that the recent course of the German government was nothing less than war against the United States, they broke all bonds of restraint. Senators on both sides of the chamber stood in their seats and waved silken flags. Members of the House joined. But it was noticeable that Senator Stone and Senator LaFollette did not rise.

As the President continued to read, Democrats and Republicans interrupted constantly with cheers, and only Senator LaFollette showed marked disapproval of what the President was saying by tossing back his head and attracting attention by a sneering laugh.

Never in the history of the United States, however, had there been in the halls of Congress such a demonstration of emotional patriotism as accompanied the President's indictment of autocracy in the Imperial German Government. Waves of applause followed one another in a rolling sea of patriotic devotion. Toward the close, many members were in tears, and even Senator LaFollette was seen vigorously applying his handkerchief to his eyes, welling with tears, as the President pronounced the affection of the American people for their neighbors of German birth.

Here and there, throughout the hall, words of approval mingled with the applause, as the President said that this war should be one to "make the world safe for democracy," and that America would fight without rancor, for no selfish ends,—not for conquest, or dominion, or indemnity,—but only

with a passionate love for the rights of mankind, to establish the ultimate peace of the world, and to liberate all peoples, both great and small, even the German people themselves from the yoke of autocratic oppression.

It was a fearful thing, the President said, to lead this great peaceful people into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars; but civilization itself seemed hanging in the balance, and right was more precious than peace.

These words brought glistening tears into the eyes of aged statesmen before him; but these tears were brushed away in the thunderous applause that greeted his concluding statement. "To such a task as this," he said, "we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness, and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

The words of this peroration suggested here and there the eloquent language of John Adams in his appeal for the Declaration of Independence; and the concluding sentence, with its tremendous emotional appeal, was an adaptation of Martin Luther's famous ejaculation, in defiance of his persecutors, as he stood against them at his trial before the Diet of Worms.

No more dramatic, however, were these earlier occasions in the history of the world's eloquence, than was this occasion when President Wilson finished his war message. A mighty cheer arose from his audience. Statesmen and leaders of both parties rushed to him to grasp his hand; and Senator Lodge, among the first, spoke for the whole people, when he said: "Mr. President, you have expressed in the loftiest manner possible the sentiments of the American people."

Almost immediately, the President emerged from the Capitol

building; and, as he descended the long flights of stairs to his waiting automobile, the newsboys were shouting, "War extra!" for newspapers that carried the full text of his speech. A deafening shout went up from the waiting thousands outside. And, as the President rode swiftly home through crowded streets, filled with cheering people, he caught in their plaudits the overpowering response of America to his request for war. Those shouts meant but one thing; the nation was sick of peace with dishonor; it was sick of two years of untold humiliation; and at last it was free from the galling yoke of a false neutrality; at last it was free to fight for the honor of the nation and the liberty of all mankind.

The President's message was hailed immediately by such men as Roosevelt with the utmost enthusiasm. It was, said he, one of the great state papers of our history, which in future years would stir the pride of American citizens. It was a call to arms that reached immediately to every heart and every home in America. It was a message of hope to despairing millions in war-ridden Europe and throughout the world. In America, it fanned into a blaze the smouldering fires of patriotism; in Germany, it struck like a catapult against the morale of the people; and, in the world-at-large, it brought a renewal of courage and a revival of faith in the ultimate preservation of human liberty.

WOODROW WILSON: THE WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

APRIL 2, 1917

Gentlemen of the Congress: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last, I officially laid before you

the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that, on and after the first day of February, it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean.

That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care would be taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships, and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things

would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of domain and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right, the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity, and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits, which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our

motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in hesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to

be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not, and could never be, our friend is that, from the very outset of the present war, it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies, and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things, and in trying to extirpate them, we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them, because we knew their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were) but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors, the intercepted note to the German minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose, because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are

but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

It will be the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit and fairness, because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government, which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a

different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with, with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from the lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task, we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF WILSON'S KANSAS CITY SPEECH FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The *Kansas City Speech*, of Woodrow Wilson, for the League of Nations, was delivered in the midst of his last magnificent, yet tragic, battle to secure from the Senate the ratification of the *Treaty of Versailles*, including the *Covenant of the League*, without reservations or amendments which would alter or destroy the purpose of the original document.

After many weary weeks of fruitless effort to attain this object by conferences in Washington with irreconcilable Senators, President Wilson decided, as he expressed it, to take his "appeal to Caesar," to the millions of his fellow-countrymen whose minds were open to conviction and whose voice might be heard in the committee-rooms and halls of Congress through the press and by petition; and, not desiring in the least to evade a contest where it might be most intense and most bitter, he accordingly planned a speech-making tour across the continent, that would carry him into those States which had sent the most incorrigible opponents of the treaty to the Senate.

Only a year before this desperate expedient, Wilson had been regarded throughout America, and indeed throughout the world, as a leader of world opinion whose magic words could arouse all peoples to the highest pinnacles of idealism; but, since that time, after the cessation of hostilities and the consequent relapse from war's emotionalism, the world had sunk into an abyss of selfish intrigue and partisan bickering. The iridescent dreams of crusades for righteousness and peace and good-will had vanished; and, in their place, had come the petty strivings of ambitious men for place and power and recognition.

How much the President himself was responsible for this reaction may be judged from his lack of tact by asking in the preceding year for the election of a partisan Democratic Congress to support him in his peace plans, and by his refusal to appoint to the peace commission any prominent Republican leader or any member of the Senate.

Whatever the cause, however, the reaction from his idealism was marked and pronounced. While in Europe to negotiate the peace, he was greeted with ovations everywhere that could not have failed to turn the head of any ordinary man. By all

oppressed and suffering peoples, as well as by the war-weary nations among the Entente Allies, he was hailed as the "savior of mankind"; and, in this rôle, he fought, through intrigue and petty diplomatic wrangling, to secure the incorporation of the *Covenant of the League of Nations* in the *Treaty of Versailles* as the corner-stone of peace. But, when he returned to America in February, 1919, how sad was his reception, and how overwhelming was his great disillusionment! His own people, he found, were not altogether with him, as he had hoped and dreamed and promised. Instead, he found that there were deep suspicions that he had been tricked and duped into surrendering his ideals, and into betraying his country by offering to sacrifice its sacred independence for an impractical and perilous adventure in behalf of a Utopian world-peace.

After speaking to a tremendous audience of skeptical and cold critics of his policy in Mechanics Hall, Boston, he hastened to Washington to explain to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations his plan for a league of nations; and then, before returning to Europe to complete the negotiations for peace, he was informed by a "round-robin" of one-third of the members of the Senate, that there would be irreconcilable opposition to the proposed league, which was the dearest goal of all his dreams.

On June 28, 1919, the treaty of peace, including the *Covenant of the League of Nations*, was signed in Paris by the peace delegates of the Allied and Associated Powers and by the representatives of Germany; but, sometime before this date, a fierce debate upon the ratification of the treaty had begun in the United States Senate, when Senator Lodge reported that certain interested parties in New York City had received copies of the treaty in advance of its presentation to the Senate, and when Senator Borah attempted to read into

the *Congressional Record* a full copy of the tremendous document which he claimed to be authentic.

On July 10, the official document was sent to the Senate by the President; and, upon its reference to the hostile Committee on Foreign Relations, it immediately stirred up great strife both in and out of the Senate, with Senator Borah hurling his thunderbolts against it in Congress, and Senator Hiram Johnson fulminating against it on the stump in the New England States.

It became apparent at once that the committee intended to attach to the treaty and to the Covenant numerous amendments and reservations, which would compel the President to go back to Europe with his hat in his hand and beg both the Entente Powers and Germany to revise the whole document at the dictation of a minority in the United States Senate.

Such a thing was, of course, impossible; and President Wilson, to avoid any such humiliating result, called numerous Senators into conference, and finally invited the Foreign Relations Committee in a body on August 19, to the White House for a full and frank discussion of all mooted points.

Nothing came of this last conference, however, but further misunderstanding and bitterness; and, while the committee was preparing to report the treaty with some thirty-eight direct amendments and four important reservations, the President decided to take the case to the people on his great speech-making tour across the continent.

Arranging his itinerary so that he might talk in the States of many of his chief opponents, in the States particularly that had sent Harding, Reed, Borah, Poindexter, and Johnson to the Senate, he started out early in September to fill speaking engagements at Columbus, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Kansas

City, Des Moines, Omaha, Sioux Falls, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Bismarck, Billings, Helena, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Tacoma, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles, Reno, Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Denver, and Pueblo.

At Columbus, Ohio, and at Indianapolis, he met a rather cold and indifferent reception, because he talked to the people in the language of the diplomat and the scholar; but, when he crossed the Mississippi, and got into the region where people were reputed to be less hidebound in their partisan prejudices, he began to receive tremendous popular demonstrations of approval that reminded him of his recent reception in Europe.

Speaking wholly extemporaneously, therefore, he began to show that he was ready to link horns with his opponents in deadly combat for his principles.

At Kansas City, on the morning of September 6, he was greeted by an audience of fifteen thousand people in the great Convention Hall, where he had formerly spoken on the subject of preparedness in 1916; and there his reception was altogether as enthusiastic as it had been on that other occasion three years before.

As he stepped to the platform, he was greeted with thunderous applause; but, waving this aside, he said to his auditors that, to alter the treaty was to impair one of the first charters of mankind. There were men, he claimed, who approached the question with passion, with private passion, with party passion, who thought only of immediate advantage to themselves, or to a group of their fellow-countrymen, who looked at the thing with the jaundiced eyes of those who had some purpose of their own. He did not mean those who had conscientious objections. He took off his hat to such. He had no intolerant spirit in the matter, but from the bottom of his feet

to the top of his head he had "a fighting spirit about it." Those who dared to defeat this great experiment must bring together the counselors of the world and do something better. If there were a better scheme, he would subscribe to it; but he wished to say, as he had said before, that "it was a case of put up or shut up." Negotiation would not save the world. Opposition constructs nothing. Opposition is the specialty of those who are bolshevistically inclined. He was not likening any of his respected colleagues to Bolsheviks, but merely pointing out that the bolshevistic spirit lacked every element of constructive opposition. He had not come to fight or antagonize any individual or body of individuals. He had the greatest respect for the Senate of the United States; but he had come out to fight for a cause; and that cause was greater than the Senate, greater than the government, as great as the cause of mankind; and he intended, in office, or out, to fight that battle as long as he lived. And, then, lifting his right hand, he exclaimed, "My ancestors were troublesome Scotchmen; and among them were some of that famous group that were known as the Covenanters. Very well, there is the *Covenant of the League of Nations*. I, too, am a covenanter."

From this speech, it can be seen how vehemently the President had begun to wage his war upon the Senate; but, as he went from place to place, he became even more vehement. Some say, that, at times, he even became petulant, and seemed only to scold and fume, as his weakened nerves began to give way under the terrific strain of speaking to which he subjected them.

At last, so says William Allen White, when he had completed his engagements in the Northern tier of Rocky Mountain States and on the Pacific Coast, while he was returning through Utah and Colorado, he yielded to the entreaties of

his secretary to become more emotional and less denunciatory.

Already racked with pain and on the verge of collapse, Woodrow Wilson delivered the last speech of this tour, and almost the last of his brief remaining span of life, at Pueblo, Colorado. With tears, unbidden, streaming down his cheeks, he brought his vast audience there also to tears, as he pleaded with them to help America keep its plighted word to the soldiers who had given their last full measure of devotion that the world might be made safe against the threat of future wars.

That night, as President Wilson's train sped East for further engagements, the silver cord that bound his life to this earth seemed ready to snap. No longer could he eat, nor sleep. To quiet his shattered nerves, the train was brought to a stop; and he and Mrs. Wilson walked alone, under the stars, for an hour, on a dusty, country road. After this brief relaxation from the terrific strain of anxiety and endless speaking, they boarded the train once more for Wichita, Kansas. But the President's race was run. Something like a shock had fallen upon him. The train did not stop, as it was scheduled to do at Wichita; but, going around the Kansas town, it sped eastward, with its shutters down, to the far-away desolate home at the White House in Washington, bearing the physical wreck of the President, who had given his all in a losing battle for his ideals.

The speeches that Woodrow Wilson, a broken man, had made in his so-called "appeal to Caesar," on his great tour across the continent were almost the last public utterances to be heard from his immortal lips. They may not have been so eloquent as other magic words spoken by him during the World War; they may, indeed, have been, as some have called them, a sorrowful anti-climax; but, at least, they were the utterances of an heroic leader, fighting desperately for a great

cause. They were the words of one, who, once having set his face toward the highest goal, would not permit his eyes to be turned from it. In spite of all that carping critics may say, these speeches for the treaty and for the league were at least the ringing, eloquent words of a crusading statesman, who was about to suffer a martyrdom for what he conceived to be the salvation of the world and the regeneration of all mankind.

WOODROW WILSON: THE KANSAS CITY SPEECH FOR
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, SEPTEMBER 6, 1919

My fellow-citizens, I came back from Paris, bringing one of the greatest documents of human history. One of the things that made it great was that it was penetrated throughout with the principles to which America has devoted her life.

Let me hasten to say that one of the most delightful circumstances of the work on the other side of the water was that I discovered that what we called American principles had penetrated to the heart and to the understanding, not only of the great peoples of Europe, but to the hearts and understandings of the great men who were representing the peoples of Europe.

I think that I can say that one of the things that America has had most at heart throughout her existence has been that there should be substituted for the brutal processes of war the friendly processes of consultation and arbitration, and *that* is done in the *Covenant of the League of Nations*. I am very anxious that my fellow-citizens should realize that that is the chief topic of the *Covenant of the League of Nations*, the greater part of its provisions.

The whole intent and purpose of the document are expressed in provisions by which all the member states agree that they

will never go to war without first having done one or the other of two things, either submitted the matter in controversy to arbitration, in which case they agree to abide by the verdict, or submitting it to discussion in the Council of the League of Nations—and for that purpose they consent to allow six months for the discussion; and, whether they like the opinion expressed or not, that they will not go to war for three months after that opinion has been expressed—so that you have, whether you get arbitration or not, nine months' discussion. And I want to remind you that that is the central principle of some thirty treaties entered into between the United States of America and some thirty other sovereign nations, all of which are confirmed by the Senate of the United States.

We have such an agreement with France; we have such an agreement with Great Britain; we have such an agreement with practically every great nation except Germany, which refused to enter into such an arrangement, because, my fellow-citizens, Germany knew that she intended something that didn't bear discussion, and that, if she had submitted the purpose which led to this war to so much as one month's discussion, she never would have dared to go into the enterprise against mankind which she finally did go into; and, therefore, I say that this principle of discussion is the principle already adopted by America.

And what is the compulsion to do this? The compulsion is this: that, if any member state violates that promise to submit either to arbitration or discussion, it is thereby *ipso facto* deemed to have committed an act of war against all the rest.

Then, you will ask, do we at once take up arms and fight them? No. We do something very much more terrible than that. We absolutely boycott them.

Let any merchant put up to himself, that if he enters into a covenant and then breaks it and the people all around absolutely desert his establishment and will have nothing to do with him, ask him, after that, if it will be necessary to send the police. The most terrible thing that can happen to any individual and the most conclusive that can happen to a nation is to be read out of decent society.

Never before has there been provided a world forum in which the legitimate grievances of peoples entitled to consideration can be brought to the common judgment of mankind. To reject the treaty, therefore, to alter the treaty, is to impair one of the first charters of mankind.

And yet there are men who approach the question with passion, with private passion and party passion; who think only of some immediate advantage to themselves or to a group of their fellow-countrymen, and who look at the thing with the jaundiced eyes of those who have some private purpose of their own. When, at last, in the annals of mankind, they are gibbeted, they will regret that the gibbet is so high.

I would not have you think that I am trying to characterize those who conscientiously object to anything in this great document. I take off my hat in the presence of any man's genuine conscience; and there are men who are conscientiously opposed to it, though they will pardon me, if I say ignorantly opposed.

I have no quarrel with them. It has been a great pleasure to confer with some of them and to tell them as frankly as I would have told my most intimate friend the whole inside of my mind and every other mind that I knew anything about, that had been concerned with the conduct of affairs at Paris, in order that they might understand this thing and go with the rest of us in the confirmation of what is necessary for the peace of the world.

I have no intolerant spirit in the matter; but I also assure you that, from the bottom of my feet to the top of my head, I have a fighting spirit about it. If anybody dares to defeat this great experiment, then he must gather together the counselors of the world and do something better.

Is it not a great vision, my fellow-citizens, this of the thoughtful world combined for peace, and this of all the great peoples of the world associated to see that justice is done, that the strong who intend wrong are restrained and that the weak who cannot defend themselves are made secure?

We have a problem ahead of us that ought to interest us in this connection. We have promised the people of the Philippine Islands that we will set them free. It has been one of our perplexities how we should make them safe after we set them free. Under this arrangement, they will be safe from the outset. They will become members of the League of Nations, and every great nation in the world will be obliged to respect and preserve against external aggression from any quarter the territorial integrity and political independence of the Philippines. It simplifies one of the most perplexing problems that has faced the American public.

But it does not simplify our problems merely, gentlemen. It illustrates the triumph of the American spirit. I do not want to attempt any flight of fancy; but I can fancy those men of the first generation, that so thoughtfully set this great government up, the generation of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and the Adamses—I can fancy their looking on with a sort of enraptured amazement that the American spirit should have made conquest of the world.

If anything that I have said has left the impression on your mind that I have the least doubt of the result, please dismiss the impression. And if you think I have come out on this errand to fight anybody, please dismiss that from your mind.

I have not come to fight or antagonize any individual or body of individuals.

I have, let me say, without the slightest affectation, the greatest respect for the Senate of the United States; but, my fellow-citizens, I have come out to fight for a cause. That cause is greater than the Senate; it is greater than the government. It is as great as the cause of mankind; and I intend, in office, or out, to fight that battle as long as I live.

My ancestors were troublesome Scotchmen; and, among them, were some of that famous group that were known as the Covenanters. Very well, there is the *Covenant of the League of Nations*. I, too, am a covenanter.

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7. Henry Cabot Lodge: *On the Wilson Peace Message* (Feb. 1, 1917)—See *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 54, Part 3, pp. 2364-2369; Lodge's *War Addresses* (1917) 245-286; Lodge's *The Senate and the League of Nations* (1925) 270-296.
8. Woodrow Wilson: *The War Message to Congress* (April 2, 1917)—See *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 55, Part 1, pp. 102-104; Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 190-199.

9. Robert M. LaFollette: *Against War with Germany* (April 4, 1917)—See *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 55, Part 1, pp. 223 ff.
10. Joseph H. Choate: *A War for Freedom* (April 24, 1917)—See Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 242-244.
11. William E. Borah: *Against the Draft Law* (April 28, 1917)—See Brewer's *World's Best Orations* (1923) II, 152-153.
12. Theodore Roosevelt: *The Flag on the Firing Line* (April 28, 1917)—See *Chicago Tribune*, April 29, 1917.
13. Franklin K. Lane: *The Message of the West* (Oct. 18, 1917)—See Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 254-263.
14. William E. Borah: *The Crucial Hour of American Liberty* (Mar. 18, 1918)—See *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 56, Part 4, pp. 356 ff; also abridgment in *Current History Magazine*, 8:278.
15. Woodrow Wilson: *Force to the Utmost* (April 6, 1918)—See *New York Times*, or *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1918; *Outlook*, 118:614; *Current History Magazine*, 8:274; Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 280-284.
16. William Howard Taft: *On the League of Nations* (March 4, 1910)—Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 348-364.
17. Woodrow Wilson: *Kansas City Speech for the League of Nations* (Sept. 6, 1919)—See *New York Times*, or *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1919.
18. Hiram W. Johnson: *Against the League of Nations* (Oct. 23, 1910)—See *Congressional Record*, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 58, Part 7, pp. 7355-7360.
19. William E. Borah: *Against the League of Nations* (Nov. 10, 1910)—See Reed's *Modern Eloquence* (1923) XI, 365-378.
20. Warren G. Harding: *Opening the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments* (Nov. 12, 1921)—See Reed's *Mod. Eloq.* (1923) XI, 379-382.
21. Charles Evans Hughes: *To the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments* (Nov. 12, 1921)—See Reed's *Mod. Eloq.* (1923) XI, 383-390.

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Lansing's *The Peace Negotiations*; Lingley's *Since the Civil War*; Lodge's *The Senate and the League of Nations*; March's *History of the World War*; Thos. R. Marshall's *Recollections*; McCormick's *The Army of 1918*; McMaster's *United States in the World War*; Palmer's *America in France*; Paxson's *Recent History of U. S.*; Roosevelt's *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*; Roosevelt's *Foes of Our Own Household*; Simonds's *History of the World War*; Strotner's *Fighting Germany's Spies*; Usher's *The Story of the Great War*.

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COLLATERAL STUDIES ON SPEECH-TEXTS

On Wilson's *War Message to Congress*

- I. What internal evidence is there that Wilson was familiar with: (1) Article I, Sec. 8, Paragraphs 11, 12, 13, 14, of Federal Constitution; (2) Webster's version of John Adams's *Speech on Independence* (1776-1826); (3) the concluding paragraph of Martin Luther's *Speech before the Diet of Worms* (1520)—See Bryan's *World's Fam. Orat.* VII, 38-43.

- II. What were: (1) the excuse offered by Germany for renewing ruthless submarine warfare within the barred zone—See McMaster's *U. S. in World War*, I, 315-316.
- (2) the occasion for the temporary cessation of ruthless submarine warfare between April, 1916, and February, 1917—See McMaster, I, 215-229.
- (3) the story of ruthless submarine warfare between Feb. 1 and April 2, 1917—See McMaster, I, 329, 340-341, 349-350.
- (4) an instance of German spies working in government offices of the United States—See McMaster, I, 160.
- (5) some of the criminal intrigues to destroy our national unity of counsel—See McMaster, I, 170-171.
- (6) some of the intrigues to destroy our domestic peace—See McMaster, I, 174-175, 182.
- (7) the intrigues to destroy our peace with foreign nations—See McMaster, I, 167-170, 357-359.
- (8) the intrigues to cripple our commerce—See McMaster, I, 160-162, 183.
- (9) the intrigues to cripple American industry—See McMaster, I, 183, 185, 190, 192.
- (10) the intercepted note to the German minister at Mexico City—See McMaster, I, 343-344.
- (11) the means that the President had in mind for restraining disloyal German-Americans—See Paxson's *Recent Hist. of U. S.* 497-498.
- On Wilson's *Kansas City Speech for the League of Nations*
- I. What articles in the *Covenant of the League* provided for: (1) submission of disputes to arbitration—See McMaster's *U. S. in World War*, II, Appendix D; (2) boycotting nations that refused to submit disputes; (3) protection for such nations as an independent Philippines?
- II. What were: (1) other great documents of human history with which Wilson would compare the Covenant; (2) the opportunities Wilson had had for judging whether his principles were accepted by the peoples of Europe—See McMaster, II, 254-269.
- III. Who were: (1) the great men who represented the peoples of Europe—See Paxson's *Recent Hist. of U. S.* 560; (2) the prominent foreign leaders for a league of nations—See McMaster, II, 270; (3) the Secretary-of-State who negotiated the thirty arbitration treaties—See Paxson, 430; (4) some of the men whom Wilson would have been pleased to see gibbeted—See Paxson, 469-470; (5) the troublesome Scotch Covenanters—See Green's *Short Hist. of England*, Chap. VIII, Sec. V.
- IV. When had Wilson held conferences with his opponents to explain the Covenant?—See McMaster, II, 389-390, 395-400.

- V. What evidence is there that the Republicans in 1921 attempted to meet Wilson's challenge to get together the counselors of the world to do something better?

DICTIONARY STUDIES FROM WOODROW WILSON

Know the pronunciation, derivation, definition, connotation, and idiomatic usage of:

1. accredited 2. amuck 3. animus 4. autocracy 5. compassion 6. concert
7. conjecture 8. countenance 9. deem 10. domain 11. extirpate 12. fealty
13. gage 14. hostile 15. identity 16. indemnities 17. instigation 18. in-
trigues 19. meager 20. nullify 21. pawns 22. policy 23. non-combatants
24. punctilio 25. rancor 26. retaliation 27. ruthlessly 28. temperateness
29. vindication 30. wanton.

1. arbitration 2. boycott 3. counselors 4. covenant 5. genuine 6. gibbeted
7. illustrates 8. *ipso facto* 9. jaundiced 10. process 11. read out.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY

INITIAL EXERCISES AND SPECIMEN ASSIGNMENTS

The outline given below, it should be noted, is a suggested plan of study based on this text—not the only possible plan, perhaps not the best plan to suit particular needs, but one plan showing some of the possibilities for introducing and using the materials contained in this text, with the purpose of developing by classroom instruction the latent powers of students in speech-making.

This plan, it should be noted furthermore, is not a complete set of exercises for any course. It contains merely a set of possible initial exercises and specimen assignments, intended to give a proper outlook upon the nature of the work; to establish what may be the most satisfactory sequence of assignments; and to suggest the possibility, as well as the desirability, of creating, with varied material, a regular recurrence of similar exercises.

Neither teacher nor student should feel the necessity for adopting and following this outline in its entirety and with mechanical adherence to it as a time schedule and class calendar.

The outline is a suggested plan of study. It should be treated as such—not as something which commands and exacts, but as something intended to serve and assist.

Exercise I. •

- A. Organization of class—Announcement and description of course as advertised in prospectus, or school or college curriculum—Directions in regard to purchase of textbook, notebook, and dictionary.
- B. Class discussion, led by instructor, to develop aims and methods of this, or any, proposed course of training for speech-making.—For materials, see Appendix Two.

Exercise 2.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Appendix Two.
- B. Five-minute written quiz on assigned reading.
- C. Class discussion, led by instructor, to develop aims, methods, and devices of vocabulary-building.—For materials, see Appendix Three.

Exercise 3.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Appendix Three.
- B. Five-minute written quiz on assigned reading.
- C. Class discussion, led by instructor, to develop subject matter of pronunciation, enunciation, phonetics, and diacritical markings.—For materials, see Appendix Four; also the appended matter showing correct pronunciation of frequently mispronounced proper names occurring in this text, pp. 706-708.

Exercise 4.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Appendix Four, and Pronunciation of Proper Names, pp. 706-708.
- B. Five-minute written quiz on assigned reading.
- C. Further class-room discussion of pronunciation, enunciation, phonetics, and diacritical markings.

Exercise 5.

- A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Appendix Four, and Pronunciation of Proper Names, pp. 706-708.
- B. Five-minute written quiz on practice exercise for pronunciation in Appendix Four.
- C. Class discussion, led by instructor, to develop subject of physical control of audience by posture, eye, and gesture.—For materials, see Appendix Five.

Exercise 6.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Appendix Five.
- B. Five-minute written quiz on assigned reading.
- C. Class practice, an individual at a time, on exercises for gesture in Appendix Five.

Exercise 7.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Webster's *Description of the Eloquence of John Adams*, pp. 134-135.
- B. Individual assignments (two students)—Oral paraphrase of Webster's *Description of the Eloquence of John Adams*.—See Appendix Seven, for nature, aims, and methods of oral paraphrasing.

- C. General assignment—Written reports on:
 - (1) Collateral studies of Webster's *Description of Eloquence of John Adams*, pp. 169-170.
 - (2) Dictionary studies from Webster on selection above, p. 171.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of oral paraphrase.—See Appendix Nine, for governing principles of class discussion.

Exercise 8.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Chapter I.
- B. Individual assignments (two students)—Student lectures:
 - (1) Orators and Oratory of the Revolution
 - (2) The Life of Patrick Henry

See Appendix Eight for elemental principles of speech-composition.
- C. General assignment, collateral reading with written reports on results of reading, from Biographical Backgrounds, p. 20. For written reports, objectives and methods, see Appendix Ten.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subjects of student lectures.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 9.

- A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter I.
- B. Individual assignment (one student)—Student lecture:
 - (1) Historical Setting of Henry's *The Call to Arms*.—See Appendix Eight.
- C. General assignment, collateral reading either from Speech-Texts of Colonial and Revolutionary Oratory; or from Historical Backgrounds on the Revolutionary Period from 1761 to 1776, pp. 18-20. For written reports, objectives and methods, see Appendix Ten.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of student lecture.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 10.

- A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter I.
- B. Individual assignments (two students)—Oral paraphrase of Henry's *The Call to Arms*.—See Appendix Seven.
- C. General assignment—Written reports on:
 - (1) Collateral studies of Henry's *Call to Arms*, pp. 20-21.
 - (2) Dictionary studies from Patrick Henry, p. 21.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of oral paraphrase.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 11.

- A. Assigned reading, textbook, Chapter II.
- B. Individual assignments (two students)—Student lectures:

(1) Oratory on the Adoption of the Constitution

(2) The Life of Alexander Hamilton

See Appendix Eight.

C. General assignment, collateral reading with written reports on results of reading, from Biographical Backgrounds, p. 41. See Appendix Ten.

D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subjects of student lectures.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 12.

A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter II.

B. Individual assignment (one student)—Student lecture:

(1) Historical Setting of Hamilton's Speeches to the New York Convention.—See Appendix Eight.

C. General assignment, collateral reading either from Speech-Texts of Oratory of the Constitutional Conventions, or from Historical Backgrounds on Critical Period from 1783 to 1788.—See pp. 40-41; also Appendix Ten.

D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of student lecture.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 13.

A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter II.

B. Individual assignments (two students)—Oral paraphrase of Hamilton's *Speeches to the New York Convention*.—See Appendix Seven.

C. General assignment—Written reports on:

(1) Collateral studies on Hamilton's *Speeches to the New York Convention*, pp. 41-42.

(2) Dictionary studies from Alexander Hamilton, p. 42.

D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of oral paraphrase.—See Appendix Nine.

Exercise 14.

A. Assigned reading, textbook, Chapter III.

B. Individual assignments (two students)—Student lectures:

(1) Orators and Oratory of the Federalist Party

(2) The Life of Fisher Ames

C. General assignment, collateral reading with written reports on results of reading, from Biographical Backgrounds, p. 62.

D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of student lectures.

Exercise 15.

A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter III.

B. Individual assignment (one student)—Student lecture:

(1) Historical Setting of Ames's *Speech on the Jay Treaty*.

- C. General assignment, collateral reading either from *Speech-Texts of Oratory of the Period of Fisher Ames*, or from *Historical Backgrounds on administrations of Washington and J. Adams*.—See pp. 61-62.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of student lecture.

Exercise 16.

- A. Assigned reading, review textbook, Chapter III.
- B. Individual assignments (two students)—Oral paraphrase of Ames's *Speech on the Jay Treaty*.
- C. General assignment—Written reports on:
 - (1) Collateral studies on Ames's *Speech on the Jay Treaty*, pp. 62-63.
 - (2) Dictionary studies from Fisher Ames, p. 63.
- D. Class discussion by impromptu speeches on subject of oral paraphrase.

Note: The outline given above is capable of indefinite extension by using the materials embodied in this text to meet the requirements of any normal course of instruction, covering thirty, sixty, ninety, one hundred fifty, or more exercises per school or college year.

APPENDIX TWO

AIMS AND METHODS OF COURSE OF TRAINING

The primary purpose of all training in speech-making is to produce better speakers—not necessarily to produce orators like Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Webster (though, if this should happen, who would regret it?) but to make each individual with ambition for leadership, no matter what his native gifts may be, a somewhat more effective speaker.

The reason that no course in speech-making can make of every man a Demosthenes, or a Cicero, or a Burke, or a Webster, is that in a sense orators *are* born and not made. No course of instruction can create genius—and these men had genius; they were born to be giants among men.

The statement, however, that orators are born and not made, is only a half truth. See the traditional accounts of Demosthenes talking with pebbles in his mouth according to Plutarch (a strange expedient to be sure) and the stories of Webster's difficulties in declamation at Phillips Exeter Academy. Even such geniuses found it necessary to develop their talents by training, and to acquire from without, by experience, observation, instruction, and training, many of the important elements of power in public utterance.

There are, then, elements of power in speech-making that may be acquired. And what these are, we may discover by asking ourselves, why, at this moment, to-day, to-morrow, or next week, we could not hope to make a speech like those of Webster or of Lincoln, or perhaps even one that would influence in a profound, or simple, way the conduct of our friends, neighbors, or associates. Why can we not now attain in full measure our ambitions, great or small, in speech-making? Because, in the *first* place, we may

lack thoughts that compel the attention or interest of others. Because, in the *second* place—even though we have attractive and interesting thoughts—we may lack knowledge of the proper mode of assembling these thoughts to make their expression effective. Because, in the *third* place—even though we have a vast storehouse of interesting thought, and even though we know perfectly well how it should be assembled—we may lack a ready command of language in which to express it. And because, in the *fourth* place—though we have splendid thoughts, the knowledge of how to assemble them, and a ready command of language in which to express them—we still may lack the courage or ability to give them suitable public utterance.

What training in speech-making can, and should, provide, therefore, is: *First*, thought material worthy of presentation; *second*, the ability to organize thought material effectively for speaking; *third*, a ready command of language sufficient to give thought effective utterance; and *fourth*, the courage and ability to speak one's thoughts effectively in public.

These things, a course built on materials found in this *History of American Oratory* can, and will, provide by means of exercises as follows:

First: To provide thought material worthy of public presentation -by extensive thought-provoking reading assignments on subjects found in, or associated with, historic American oratory.

Second: To create ability to organize thought material effectively for speaking—by direct instruction in fundamental principles, and by constant emulation of the methods employed in the speeches of historic American orators.

Third: To create a ready command of language sufficient to give thought effective utterance -by assignments making possible an involuntary assimilation of words and phrases from historic American oratory and from accounts of its background in history, and then by other assignments for direct, volitional, and deliberate dictionary studies based on historic American oratory.

Fourth: To develop courage and ability to speak one's thoughts effectively in public—by direct instruction in fundamental principles, and by continuous class-room practice in speaking, which may employ the memorized, the extempore, or the impromptu methods, on subjects contained in, or developed from, materials presented in this *History of American Oratory*.

APPENDIX THREE

VOCABULARY-BUILDING—METHODS AND DEVICES

Words are the indispensable tools with which a speech-maker must work. His materials are thought and emotion. But to express whatever thought or emotion he possesses, he must have words. Vast thought, strong passion, high ideals, or impelling motives never can be adequately expressed or communicated except by words.

To realize the importance attached to words and to a command of their proper usage, see anecdotes of successful orators, like Choate who exhausted the resources of all ordinary dictionaries; like Webster who, when asked how he was going to spend a vacation, said, "In studying the dictionary"; and like Lincoln who pondered every word that he put into his formal addresses.

Most persons fail to realize how limited their command of words is, until suddenly in writing, or in speaking, they are brought to a dead halt for want of a word.

Except on such occasions, most people are quite satisfied with the limited supply of words at their command. But any one at any time may force upon himself a vivid realization of the poverty of his vocabulary, by taking any well-understood slang expression and then attempting to give its exact equivalent in strong and approved English; or by taking almost any page of print and then attempting to paraphrase it, or to give a clear-cut exposition of the meaning of some, or all, of its terms in passably good English.

Some one has said that the working vocabulary of the average business man—and therefore, presumably of the average person in or out of business—consists of from 600 to 1200 words out of the hundreds of thousands that now may be found in the most exhaustive dictionaries.

How is such a condition to be explained? In some instances, it may be due to a lack of deep thought or complex emotions calling for expression; but, in most instances, it is probably due to the absence of any sustained effort to express thought or emotion in language other than trite colloquialisms or slang—to the absence of any real effort to write or speak adequately, accurately, and properly.

And if this is not the cause—if the person has actually endeavored to use the best English in writing and speaking—then the cause consists probably in his limited association with persons of refined speech, or more probably in his limited or remote acquaintance with works of good literature.

If a person would develop a larger and more effective working vocabulary for speech-making, he should do at least three things: *First*, he should take unremitting pains both with his writing and with his speaking to express his thoughts and emotions adequately, accurately, and properly; *second*, he should cultivate the acquaintance and seek the companionship of those who speak with refinement; *third*, he should read continually the best works of the ablest writers and the most polished speakers.

By such means, any thoughtful person will acquire involuntarily large additions to his working vocabulary. But such means, at best, lack system and efficiency, and produce results that are haphazard and slow.

If sure and quick results are demanded, then the student should deliberately take some piece of good literature, scan it for words that are somewhat unfamiliar or unusual, make a list of these words, and proceed to make a thorough study of their usage, meaning, and pronunciation with the aid of a dictionary.

Such lists of words, taken from excerpts of America's historic oratory, are provided in this text at the end of each chapter.

To study these lists with the purpose of recording and remembering the results obtained, the student should locate each word in the selection from which it is taken, copy the phrase or sentence in which it occurs to make sure of its idiomatic usage, then consult

a dictionary for its pronunciation, derivation, definition, and shades of meaning as it is contrasted with synonyms and antonyms.

Such a procedure may be made systematic by the use of some such blank form as the following:

Word	Usage	Pronunciation	Synonyms
	Meaning	Derivation	Antonyms

APPENDIX FOUR

PRONUNCIATION AND ENUNCIATION—PHONETICS AND DIACRITICAL MARKINGS

For the speech-maker, correct pronunciation and clear enunciation are of the utmost importance: *First*, to make one's speech understood; *second*, to avoid criticism, that one is ignorant, vulgar, provincial, or affected—as, for example, in pronouncing hos'pitable—hospit'able, agāin—agāin, cōnsul—counsel; fellow—fellēr, them—'em, hoist—hīst, yes—yah; guārantee—gōrantee, cow—cāow, smōke—smōke; bēen—bēen, dūty—juty, rather—rawther.

A knowledge of correct pronunciation not only makes one better able to be understood, and renders one less subject to almost inevitable criticism, but it also saves one frequently from awkward, embarrassing, and even disastrous hesitation.

Pronunciation is the *correct* utterance of speech sounds. Enunciation is the *distinct*, or *clear*, utterance of speech sounds.

Speech is articulated voice; that is, voice broken and moulded into words. Voice is sound emanating from the vocal cords, and consisting of vibrations of air in the breath.

Organs used in the production of voice are: the lungs, used like the wind-bags in a bellows; the diaphragm, used like the handles of a bellows; the bronchial tubes and wind-pipe, used like the snout of a bellows; the larynx, voice box, or Adam's apple, used like the orifice of the snout of a bellows; and the vocal cords in the larynx, used like a sounding piece inserted in the orifice of a bellows.

Organs used in the production of speech are: all organs used for the production of voice, plus organs which articulate voice; namely the tongue, the lips, the teeth, the hard and the soft palates, and the nasal passage. To demonstrate the use of the nasal passage,

make the humming sound for which the letter *m* stands; then clamp the nose as the sound is being given, and note the result.

Two distinct types of sound used in speech are: vocal sound, that is, sound made of voice; and mere breath sound without voice. All mere breath sounds are called consonant sounds. They are most important for clear enunciation, and are such sounds as those represented by the letters *p, t, k, wh, f, sh, ch,* and *h*. Vocal sounds, unlike breath sounds, may be either vowel sounds or consonant sounds. Vocal sounds, for example, such as those represented by the letters, *a, e, i, o, u,* and sometimes *y,* and *w,* are vowel sounds; whereas vocal sounds, such as those represented by the letters, *b, d, g, v, l, r, z, j, y, w, m, n, ng,* are consonant sounds.

A vowel sound is any vocal sound that meets no direct obstruction in its path from the vocal cords out through the mouth. A consonant sound is any mere breath sound, or any vocal sound that does meet some direct obstruction in its path from the vocal cords out through the mouth.

At this point, it is apparent that the term *vowel* is used in two senses, sometimes meaning the vowel sound and sometimes meaning the vowel letter denoting the sound. The same double meaning also exists in connection with the term *consonant*. Hence, it is important to use the expressions, vowel sound and vowel letter, consonant sound and consonant letter.

All the elemental vowel sounds that the human mouth can make are represented in what is called the natural vowel scale, which is given below. Mouth formations, as shown on the lips, and as they occur similarly all the way back to the throat, are given in the scale, with the accompanying vowel sound shown beneath.

THE NATURAL VOWEL SCALE

Mouth Formations	o—○—○—□—□—□—□
Vowel Sounds	ō—ô—aw—ah—ă—ĕ—ĕ

At first some of the more familiar vowel sounds do not seem to

appear in this scale, such as, for instance, I, ow, ū, ō, ā, ǒ, á, ŭ, û, Ý, and ũ.

But all these vowels may be found in the scale either by making combinations of the elemental sounds or by shortening some of the elemental sounds.

For example, ī = ah + ē; ow = ah + ōō; ū = ē + ōō; ō = ô + ōō; ā = ě + ē.

Shortened ōō = ǒǒ; shortened oh = ô; shortened ah = á, or ŭ, or û; shortened ē = Ý; and shortened ū = ē + ǒǒ = ũ.

(For meanings of diacritical markings, see table given below on page 680.)

All the consonant sounds occurring in the English language are represented in the following table with directions as to how they are formed:

TABLE OF CONSONANT SOUNDS

Sent—	Through Mouth				Through Nose
Given—	Explosively		Protractedly		Protractedly
Made with	Voice	Breath	Voice	Breath	Voice
Lips	B	P	W	WH	M
Lips—Teeth			V	F	
Tongue—Teeth			th	th	
Tongue—Hard Palate	D	T	L-R		N
Tongue, Teeth, and Middle Palate			Z	S	
			zh	sh	
			j	ch	
			Y		
Tongue—Soft Palate	G	K	W	WH	NG
Wide Open Passage				H	

At first certain familiar consonant sounds seem not to be presented in this table; for example, the sounds for the letters c, q, and x. But such sounds are, nevertheless, represented in the table; for c = k, or s, or sometimes ch; q always = k; and x always = ks or gz, except in Greek derivatives like xylophone when x = z.

What causes greatest confusion in the pronunciation of English words is the fact that a given vowel sound is often represented by various vowel letters, and that every vowel letter is made to represent at times various vowel sounds. Then to the confusion arising from this cause, further confusion is added by the fact that many consonant sounds may be represented by various consonant letters, and several consonant letters stand for more than one consonant sound.

To show what approved vowel sound is intended for each vowel letter as it occurs in any word, and to show the same thing for consonants of ambiguous meaning, a system of diacritical markings for vowel letters and vowel consonants must be employed.

The system given in the table below is that employed by Webster's Dictionary. There are other systems; but this system is chosen for this text; because it is the only system used in the Webster's Dictionary; and because, though not given first place in the Standard Dictionary, it is also used even in that dictionary as the second marking.

Diacritical Markings for Vowel Sounds in English

ā = āle	ō = ōld	ē = bē	ū = ūse	ī = bīte	ȳ = skȳ
â = âny	ô = ôbey	ê = êvent	û = ûnite		
		ë = café			
ǣ = ǣt	ö = ödd	ě = běd	ǔ = ūs	ȝ = ȝt	ȳ = hȳmn
ä = ärm				ĩ = machine	
â = âsk, sofâ	ô = sôn				
ǣ = ǣll	q = prqve, tq		u = rude		
ā = wāter	o = wōlf		u = put		
â = câre	ô = ôrder	ê = êre	û = cûrl		
ǣ = liār	ō = wōrd	ě = hěr		ĩ = gĩrl	ȳ = martȳr

The names of the marks as they appear in this table from the upper line to the lower are: the long mark, the shortened long mark ˆ , the long mark below, the short mark ˘ , the double dot above, the single dot above, the double dot below, the single dot below, the caret ^ , and the circumflex ˆ .

Special names that are given to certain vowel letters are: ā = the Italian *a*; â = the shortened Italian *a*; a = the broad *a*; a = the shortened broad *a*; e = the continental *e*; and ī = the continental *i*.

From this table, the student should see that the vowel sounds listed below are the same:

$\text{ā} = \text{e}$; $\text{â} = \text{ě}$; $\text{a} = \text{ô}$; $\text{a} = \text{ö}$; $\text{â} = \text{ê}$; $\text{ā} = \text{ō} = \text{ē} = \text{û} = \text{ī} = \text{ȳ}$; $\text{ó} = \text{ũ}$; $\text{o} = \text{u}$; $\text{o} = \text{u}$; $\text{ē} = \text{ī}$; $\text{ê} = \text{ĩ} = \text{ȳ}$; $\text{ī} = \text{ȳ}$.

Since certain vowel sounds are represented by diphthongs rather than by single vowel letters, it is also necessary to note the identity of certain diphthongal sounds with certain vowel sounds listed above, as in the following words:

āle , pāid , pāy , café , eight , they .

āny , sāid , Tuesdāy , pěnnny , hēaven .

āsk , āunt .

āll , autumn , strāw , ōrder , ought .

ōld , shōw , tableau , rōad .

sōn , anxiōus , ūs .

prōve , fōod , $\text{rou\text{te}}$, shrewd , rude .

wōlf , fōot , wōuld , put .

bē , antennāe , lēave , machīne , belief , phoēbe .

ūse , Tuesday , fēw , bēautiful .

bite , flȳ , height .

In addition to the diphthongal sounds shown above, the student should also be familiar with the diphthongs *ow* and *ou*, as in *owl* and *out*. This *ow*, and this *ou*, require no marking. They represent the sound of $\text{ā} + \text{ōō}$.

Great confusion sometimes arises in the interpretation of dialectal markings for vowels from the influence upon individuals of dialect sounds which they have heard throughout life.

In New England dialect, for example, final *â* is confused with *ä*, as in *ideâ* (not *ideâr*) *collâr* (not *collâ*); *ô* is confused with *ö*, as in *smôke*, *stône*, *rôad* (not *smöke*, *stöne*, *rôad*); *oo* is confused with *öo*, as in *rôom*, *brôom*, *sôon*, *nôon* (not *röom*, *bröom*, *söön*, *nöön*).

In Middle West dialect, for example, *â* in *âsk* is deliberately converted into *äsk*; *â*, when attempted, is often confused with *a*, as in *âunt* (not *aunt*); *ô* is confused with *ä*, as in *döll* (not *däll*, but *dall*); and *ô* is confused with *ö*, as in *ôr*, *fôr*, *hôrse* (not *ôâr*, *fôûr*, *hōârse*, but *aw+r*, *faw+r*, *haw+rse*).

The New Englander, with typical dialect, should learn to clip off a final *r* sound from a final *â*; to pronounce with an *r* sound all sounds of *âr*, *ôr*, *êr*, *ûr*, *îr*, and *ÿr*; to make *a*=*aw*, not *ô*; to make *o*=*ô*+*oo*; and to observe that *not* every *oo* is *öö*.

The Middle Westerner, similarly, with typical accent, should note (whether or not he cares to adopt the usage) that *â* is a shortened form of *ä*, not *ä*; that *ô*=*a*; and that *ô*=*aw*=*a*.

For confusion arising from various other interesting dialects, the student is asked to make his own individual studies.

Consonant letters and digraphs that stand for more than one consonant sound are: *c*, *ch*, *g*, *n*, *s*, *th*, and *x*.

There are two regular *c* sounds in English, the hard *c*, and the soft *ç*, both being found in *çireus*. Then there is the Italian *c*, found in *cello*, which requires respelling as (ch)ello.

There are three regular *ch* sounds in English, the English *ch* as in *church*, which takes no mark; the French *çh* as in *maçhine*; and the Greek *ch* as in *Ch*ristian.

There are two regular *g* sounds in English, the hard *g* as in *g*o; and the soft *g* as in *w*age. Then there is the French *g* as in *mirage* (mirazh).

There are two regular *n* sounds in English, *n* as in *in* (no mark); and *ñ* as in *in*k, *fin*ger, *extinguish*, *Eng*land. (Note that *ñ*=*ng*.)

There are two *s* sounds in English, the whistled *s* as in *this* (no mark); and the buzzed *ş* as in *iş*, *waş*, *hiş*, *haş*.

There are two *th* sounds in English, the voiced *th* as in *the*, *thou*, *this*, *these*, *those*; and the thin *th* as in *thin*, *thick* (no mark).

There are two regular *x* sounds in English, *x*=*ks* as in *ox* (no mark); and *x̣*=*gz* as in *ex̣ert*, *ex̣haust*.

Quite as important in pronunciation as the correct rendering of vowel and consonant sounds is the placing of an accent upon some one syllable in all words of more than one syllable. The tendency in English is to throw the accent as far back into the word as the third and sometimes the fourth syllable from the end; but this tendency cannot be relied upon as an infallible guide and very often leads to serious mispronunciations.

In addition to the main or primary accent on a word of three or more syllables, there is often a secondary accent; but this accent is perceptibly less heavy than the primary accent. Secondary accents are generally found on alternate syllables in a word in conjunction with the main accent. They are marked with a very light accent mark, or with a double light accent mark.

For practice in interpreting diacritical markings, see appended matter in this book showing pronunciation of certain often mispronounced proper names that occur in the body of this text.

For practice in using the diacritical markings, use the following list of commonly mispronounced words:

1. ally, 2. alternate (adj.), 3. cadaver, 4. circuitous, 5. clangor, 6. clique, 7. eclat, 8. elite, 9. extol, 10. facile, 11. frontier, 12. glibberish, 13. gist, 14. height, 15. inchoate, 16. inherent, 17. imagery, 18. impious, 19. lamentable, 20. oust, 21. poignant, 22. regime, 23. sacrilegious, 24. succinct, 25. vagary.

APPENDIX FIVE

PHYSICAL CONTROL OF AUDIENCE—POSTURE, EYE, GESTURE

There are three distinct means by which a speech-maker may exert physical control over an audience: by posture, by eye, and by gesture.

POSTURE

The correct posture for the speech-maker must be secured through establishing the right state of mind; and this correct state of mind may be obtained, either directly, or indirectly through a reflex action from a consciously chosen posture.

To control an audience, the speaker's posture must show four characteristics of his state of mind; *First*, that he does not shrink from the task he has undertaken; *second*, that he fully appreciates the responsibility of his task; *third*, that he does not over-rate his powers to cope with his task; and *fourth*, that he is determined to see his task through to a successful termination.

To obtain correct posture by directly attempting to set up the necessary state of mind, the speaker must see to it, that he has his subject well in hand; that he has a serious purpose; that he crushes out all his self-conceit; and that he braces himself to overcome all opposition.

If a speaker will train his mind to have the qualities suggested—knowledge, seriousness, modesty, and determination—then he need give no thought whatever to his posture; for unconsciously and naturally he will assume what for him is the posture best fitted to his task.

But, if the speaker cannot create directly the correct state of mind for his task, then perhaps indirectly, through reflex action from a deliberately assumed posture, he may establish the necessary habitual and correct state of mind.

For such speakers, specific directions are given in regard to the posture they should cultivate with the hope that eventually a deliberately chosen posture will create the correct state of mind.

Let such a speaker advance to within easy speaking distance of his hearers; then stop in his walk with one foot advanced; keep his weight equally on both feet; hold his body and head erect; let his hands fall easily and naturally to the side; and face his audience squarely.

Such a posture, when taken, attracts no notice to itself, and creates gradually through habit those qualities of mind that enable the speaker to exert a physical control over his auditors.

THE EYE

In exerting physical control over an audience, the speaker has no more effective instrument than the eye. By means of the eye, he may read constantly the thoughts and feelings that pass through the minds of his hearers; and, by means of the eye also, he may permit and encourage his hearers to read constantly the thoughts and feelings that pass through his own mind.

Only as he speaks eye to eye, however, to individuals in his audience, can he hope to accomplish this result. He must, therefore, persistently, unfalteringly, and uninterruptedly look with steadfast purpose into the eyes of chosen individuals in his audience. He must not permit himself ever to look out of the window, down at the floor or out into space, if he wishes to read the minds of others or to permit others to read the thoughts and feelings within his own mind.

To look an individual member of an audience in the eye, the speaker must cultivate the same qualities of mind that are essential for correct posture in speaking; namely, a thorough knowledge of the subject matter for discussion; sincerity and seriousness of purpose; modesty that makes him consider the welfare and intelligence of others, and a will to overcome all obstacles that may hinder or obstruct the attainment of his object.

If the speaker will acquire thorough knowledge, absolute sincerity, becoming modesty, and dauntless determination, then he may, and will, speak eye to eye; and, if he will not, then he may expect always to be a timid, shrinking, hesitating spectacle, better fitted for the background of a public meeting, than for the foreground where the speaker must stand, and where the withering gaze of harshly critical listeners will penetrate his personality and expose its pitiful, inherent weakness.

But, if the speaker will acquire these qualities of mind so necessary to frank and earnest speech, and thereby become able to address his hearers eye to eye, then he may confidently hope to hold them in his power, after the manner of Patrick Henry or Rufus Choate, with an almost hypnotic influence, that renders them helpless to relax, that compels them to attend and do his bidding, to yield all their own preconceived and cherished prejudices, great and small, and submerge their will in his.

GESTURE

In addition to posture and the use of the eye, the speech-maker has one more powerful instrument by which he may exert a physical control over his audience. This additional instrument is gesture.

By gesture, is meant any meaningful action of the arms and hands that accompanies, or takes the place of, speech. Gesture, therefore, in no way, connotes the contortions or flounderings or antics of gesticulation; for gesture is meaningful, whereas gesticulation is as meaningless as Saint Vitus's dance.

To cultivate gesture that will serve the speaker's purpose to control his audience, the speech-maker must put out of mind all thought that gesture is intended to give him grace and beauty, to make him a little darling of the gods, or possibly another Apollo Belvidere, and replace this thought with another, that gesture is intended to make his utterance strong, rugged, and dynamic.

If gesture has such characteristics, then it may also have grace

and beauty, but its grace and beauty will not be that of lackadaisical effeminacy: it will be rather that of masculine power, resembling the rapier thrusts of the fencer or the hammer blows of Thor.

There are many varieties of gesture that the speech-maker need take no pains to cultivate: dramatic gestures, for example, which are intended to portray, rather than to communicate, feeling; and descriptive gestures, which are intended to clarify, or explain, thought that baffles expression in words.

If the speech-maker ever requires dramatic gesture, intense feeling or an irresistible desire to mimic will create without volition the appropriate bodily expression. And if the speech-maker ever requires descriptive gesture, which is the first universal language of nature, the demands of the situation will, of themselves, promote and compel the necessary action.

But, though the speech-maker need not concern himself with dramatic gesture and descriptive gesture, he must give serious thought to the development of what is known as oratorical gesture; for, in this form of gesture, he will find one of the main sources of his power to exert physical control over an audience.

Oratorical gesture may be defined as any movement of the hands and arms, the purpose of which is to secure, direct, and hold the attention of others upon thought addressed to them.

Oratorical gesture is of four principal kinds: *First*, the gesture of presentation or appeal; *second*, the gesture of reference; *third*, the gesture of negation; and *fourth*, the gesture of emphasis.

The gesture of presentation is one in which the speaker hands a thought to the audience as he would any material thing. To get the proper position for it, hold out, on the palm of the hand, some object like a penknife, as if to show it to some other person at a distance and as if to give it to that other person if he wishes to take it; then remove the object with the other hand, and retain the position. Try this gesture to accompany the following expression: "This, sir, is my case."

The gesture of appeal is a variation of the gesture of presenta-

tion. It is intended to arouse inattentive listeners, and it accompanies expressions of direct address and also direct questions demanding an immediate answer. It consists of a quick, upward lift or jerk of the hand or forefinger from the position of presentation; and it is best obtained by reaching out in the direction of a listener's chin or eye-lid, with an upward, impulsive movement, as if to pry up, or jerk up, and then to hold up the chin or the eye-lid. It may be tried to accompany such an expression as the following: "Mr. Citizen, Mr. Taxpayer, what is the meaning of a proposition like this?"

The gesture of reference is one used to direct attention to things actually far off, or to subjects remote in time, or remote in bearing on the special topic under consideration. It is similar to the gesture of presentation, except that it does not give the impression of showing an object with the intent of giving it to a hearer, but simply with the intent of turning his gaze upon it. This gesture, therefore, employs always, not a movement of the open hand toward the listener, but a movement of the open hand off in a sweep to the side. It may be tried to accompany such an expression as the following: "Those people, of ancient times, away off there in Greece, are the persons I have in mind."

The gesture of negation is one used to stop, arrest, deny, or exclude thoughts and actions that are undesirable or irrelevant. It is used appropriately whenever the words, *no* or *not*, are spoken or implied; and it is made by pushing the palm of the hand straight toward the listener's face, or sometimes slightly outward or downward. It may be tried to accompany such an expression as the following: "No, sir, you may take that thought back. Don't, I beg of you, think any such thing."

The gesture of emphasis is one used to drive home a thought to the listener's mind. It is made sometimes with the straight hand, sometimes with the upright forefinger, sometimes with the forefinger pointed directly at the listener, and sometimes with the clenched fist. In every case it involves a thrust or a blow aimed directly toward the listener's eyes. It is done best, perhaps, with

a cleaving thrust of the straight hand, or with a thrust of the upright forefinger along a direct line of vision between the speaker's eye and the eye of a listener. When pointedness with respect to an individual listener is desired, it should be done with the forefinger leveled at the listener. And only when the speaker is justifiably and frankly in a belligerent mood, should it be done with the clenched fist. It may be tried to accompany such expressions as the following: (1) "I tell you that the time for action has come." (2) "The point, I make, is this." (3) "I mean you!" (4) "Yes, I defy you!"

To give power and vitality to all these gestures, each must begin with the arm and hand limp. When the emphatic word or phrase in the thought is reached, then the hand and arm must be made rigid, taut, vibrant with nervous energy. And this nervous tension in the gesture must be maintained until the speaker sees that the thought has embedded itself in the listener's mind. The gesture should begin with the appearance in the mind of the speaker, of the thought that it is to express or enforce; and it should continue beyond the utterance of the thought, so long as the thought is sustained in the speaker's mind.

Nearly all gestures may be made either with one hand or with two. If the gesture starts with one hand, however, it never should be finished with two. And when two hands are used from the beginning, both should operate in unison doing the same thing.

Other important considerations to bear in mind are: In gestures of reference, always let the hands sweep outward from the body, never across it in such fashion as to leave a barrier between the speaker and his auditors. Never watch the gesture with the eye to see if it is done properly; keep the eye always on the listener; and never gesture toward one person while looking at another. Never lean on a gesture, nor lunge while making one. Restrict the impulse to gesture to the arm and hand; and don't pound with the head, heels, or feet. Don't pound one hand with the other; and don't pound the desk or table; be content to pound the air, while you strike in the direction of the listener's forehead.

Don't gesture except when impelled to do so by strong feeling. Never make a gesture to describe what is obvious. Don't use gesture to peek at an audience; but use it to strike deliberate, telling blows. One long-continued, and strongly sustained gesture is worth a hundred trifling ones. The best gesture is one that is sustained, or is self-sustaining, through at least a sentence and sometimes throughout an entire paragraph, with nervous impulses given here and there on emphatic words and phrases to drive home the various parts of the thought to the listeners' minds.

To acquire facility and proficiency in the use of gesture, the student may practice on the following exercises, making what he considers an appropriate gesture to accompany the utterance of each sentence.

EXERCISES FOR GESTURE

Group I.

1. Sir! 2. This is my proposition. 3. I might have chosen to speak on matters mentioned yesterday. 4. But to-day I have chosen this matter as my subject. 5. Now, the point, I wish to make, is this. 6. No, not that, but this. 7. Will *you* be quiet, please? 8. I mean *you*! 9. This is a point that you must accept. 10. And, if you refuse, I defy you to get one that is better.

Group II.

1. "Such is the crime which you are to judge."—Summer. 2. "Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche to be filled with another Supreme Court decision."—Lincoln. 3. "We are met on a great battle-field."—Lincoln. 4. "Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities that produce conviction."—Webster. 5. "True eloquence consists in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion."—Webster. 6. "This is a question, as it has been presented to this House, of peace or war."—Randolph. 7. "That man is James G. Blaine."—Ingersoll. 8. "All I ask is simply fair play."—Beecher. 9. "To use force is war."—Ames.

Group III.

1. "I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array?"—Henry. 2. "Against whom are these charges brought?"—Randolph. 3. "What appearance, sir, would a record like this make?"—Clay. 4. "What honor shall we pay?"—Parker. 5. "Do you think I am partial?"—Phillips. 6. "Who is

so bold as to do it?"—Lincoln. 7. "Now I ask you, in all soberness, if all these things, do not transform this government?"—Lincoln. 8. "Do you tell me it will cost money?"—Beveridge. 9. "Where is the young man who has spoken one word of disparagement?"—Grady. 10. "Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Is any man who was ever fit to live dead?"—Beecher.

Group IV.

1. "Those men were our fathers."—Grady. 2. "The pioneers, away out there, have made the desert to bloom as the rose."—Bryan. 3. "I catch another vision—the crisis of battle—a soldier struck, staggering, fallen."—Grady. 4. "I saw those huge placards in Manchester purporting to say who I am."—Beecher. 5. "Look there! See that face so maiden meek, so manly strong!"—Parker.

Group V.

1. "There is no mistake in this case; there can be none."—Ames. 2. "Do not tell me that you have got to be rich in order to be happy."—Ingersoll. 3. "Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in defense of our homes, our families, and posterity."—Bryan. 4. "We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship."—Wilson. 5. "Not thine any more, but the Nation's; not ours, but the World's."—Beecher. 6. "I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided."—Lincoln. 7. "He is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise ever to be."—Lincoln. 8. "We cannot dedicate; we cannot consecrate; we cannot hallow this ground."—Lincoln.

Group VI.

1. "What the home is, this, and nothing else will the Capitol be."—Grady. 2. "Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said."—Roosevelt. 3. "That is the real issue."—Lincoln. 4. "I tell you what I thought. I thought simply this."—Beecher. 5. "I tell you that the time for action has come."—Douglas. 6. "Postpone it, if you will; but, whenever you do act, this question must be met and decided."—Douglas. 7. "I wish you to feel this. I mean it."—Roosevelt. 8. "Go home, if you dare—go home, if you can—to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down."—Clay. 9. "We must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!"—Henry. 10. "We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more; we defy them!"—Bryan.

APPENDIX SIX

THE STUDY OF ORATORICAL LITERATURE—AIMS AND METHODS

What should be the purpose of a student in undertaking the study of a piece of oratorical literature? Primarily, of course, to obtain knowledge of whatever worth-while information it contains; but, secondarily, if the student aspires to be a speech-maker, to acquire from it, through conscious or unconscious assimilation, some of the skill exhibited by the original speaker in speech-composition.

If the student desires only to obtain a knowledge of the information contained in a piece of oratory, even then he should follow some systematic procedure to accomplish his purpose.

What he wishes to know, first of all, is the one central thought that the original speaker wished to impress upon his hearers; then his reasons for wishing others to accept this thought; the obstacles that have hitherto stood in the way of their accepting his thought; and his facts and reasonings to overcome these obstacles, or to substantiate directly his central point.

To extract from a piece of oratorical literature these various items of information, the student should first read the entire oration or selection; and then, pausing for reflection, he should seek to recall, or to formulate, one brief, simple sentence that summarizes the original speaker's message.

When such a summarizing sentence has been discovered or formulated, then the student should begin a re-reading of the piece of literature, paragraph by paragraph, to determine what each of these subdivisions contribute to the purpose of impressing the speaker's one central thought upon the minds of his auditors.

The subject matter of each of these paragraphs should be summarized in one brief, simple sentence, just as the whole composition was so summarized; and then these topic sentences

should be grouped together under headings indicating successively: the reasons why others should be interested in the speaker's thought; the reasons why some contrary belief has been held hitherto; the facts and reasonings that overthrow contrary belief; and the facts and reasonings that directly substantiate the original speaker's central point.

By pursuing such a method of study, any student may extract from a piece of oratorical literature its full thought content, and derive from it some of the skill in organizing speech materials that the original speaker possessed.

But the student, aspiring to be a speech-maker, will wish to obtain much more from any given oration or selection than its mere content and structure. He will also wish to obtain from it some of the elements of power in the original speaker's style.

Such elements are found in the speaker's diction, sentence structure, and figurative expressions; and consist in his choice of words; in his employment of direct address, the second person, the imperative mood, exclamations, apostrophes, direct and rhetorical questions, antithesis and climax, balanced and periodic sentences, the simile, the metaphor, analogy, anecdote, parable, Biblical and classical quotations, hyperbole, metonymy, alliteration, cadence, euphemisms, onomatopoeia, and other devices *ad infinitum* which may be recommended by the rhetoricians.

Such elements may be laboriously picked out, analyzed, and recorded; but too much effort expended in this direction may kill the spirit of the original piece of literature by laying an intolerable stress upon the minutiae of expression, while the sublime heights and depths of the thought are left unnoticed.

Hence, it is better to devise some method of acquiring these important minutiae of style without crushing the reader's joy in the larger aspects of the work, by enabling him to pick up these minutiae through involuntary assimilation and conscious or unconscious emulation.

Such a method is provided in exercises for oral paraphrasing, which are explained below in the following appendix.

APPENDIX SEVEN

ORAL PARAPHRASING—NATURE, AIMS, METHODS

A paraphrase is a reproduction in other words of the entire thought content of a piece of literature, following the sequence, but not the words, phrases, or sentence structure of the original composition.

As an exercise in public speaking, it is a most satisfactory substitute for memorized declamation; for it is capable of developing all the desirable results hoped for in declamation, without the drudgery of verbal memorization; and it develops what memorized declamation never can hope to develop—the power to think on one's feet, and to express effectively one's thoughts in extemporized language.

Paraphrasing is a form of composition that reproduces another piece of literature; but it must not be confused with other types of literary reproduction that take the form of abbreviated or abridged versions. It is, in no sense, an epitome, a synopsis, an abstract, or an excerpt. It gives more than the gist of the original. It is not a topic outline. It does not seek to condense. And it is no mere clipping. It is a complete, parallel reproduction—a free and full translation.

To understand the paraphrasing of a speech, one other distinction must also be borne in mind. The paraphrase is, in no sense, a critique, nor a reporter's account of what was said. The paraphrase follows the original thought, regardless of whether the reproducer agrees with it or not. And the paraphrase does more; it keeps the entire point of view of the original speaker. It revives all the elements in the original occasion, with the presumption that the original speaker, in the original place, under the original conditions, is addressing the original audience. It will

change many forms of expression from those used in the original speech; but it must *not* change the utterance, from expression in the first person, with frequent use of the original expressions in the second person, to the reportorial method of narration in the third person. If a speaker paraphrases Patrick Henry, then he assumes that he is Patrick Henry, in the environment of Patrick Henry; and when Patrick Henry would use the word *I*, then the paraphraser will also use the word *I*, as he impersonates the original Patrick Henry. The pronouns *I* and *we*, in other words, must not be changed to *he* and *they*.

To construct a satisfactory paraphrase, the speaker must, as in all forms of composition whether written or oral, work from an outline. His outline should be the outline of the original speech. And this outline should be assembled from successive topic sentences expressing the gist of the thought in the successive paragraphs of the original speech.

When the outline is built, then it should be memorized by visualization. Any other form of memorization for outlines is bound to be confusing.

After the outline is securely fixed in mind, then the speaker may proceed to acquire easily the subject matter to fill it out.

His method of procedure should be to read slowly and thoughtfully the first paragraph of the original composition; then to lay aside the original words and to attempt to give the substance of the paragraph in his own words. The second paragraph should then be read; the original should again be laid aside; and the substance of two paragraphs should be given in the speaker's own words. This process may be repeated for each successive paragraph; and when the final paragraph is reached, it is possible that the entire paraphrase may by that time be ready for presentation.

This method of preparation is the only satisfactory way to obtain the desired results expected from paraphrasing. If the original composition is reproduced in any other fashion, as, for instance, by re-writing it and then memorizing the re-written

piece verbatim, all the desired results will be sacrificed. But, if the suggested procedure is followed, then exercises in paraphrasing may develop in the student the ability to think on his feet; they may give him, through involuntary assimilation, some of the good qualities in the style of the original speaker; and they will most certainly increase his power of extemporization.

APPENDIX EIGHT

SPEECH COMPOSITION—ELEMENTAL PRINCIPLES

To acquire proficiency in speech-composition, the student cannot stop of course with practice in paraphrasing. He must go on to original composition; and, in order that he may do this, exercises in formally prepared, and in impromptu, speech-making are provided in the course of training suggested for use with this text.

The formally prepared addresses in the course are provided in assignments for student lectures; and the impromptu speeches are provided in assignments for class discussion on the subject matter of student lectures and paraphrases.

In this appendix, some of the more elemental principles of speech composition for all speech-making will be presented; and, in the following appendix, some of the elemental principles of impromptu discussion of student lectures and paraphrases will be given.

In all speech-making, the speaker should realize that he is to speak for a purpose; and that his purpose must be to get some kind of action from his auditors. This action may be: simply to have them advance in knowledge, or to change or revise their beliefs; or it may be to have them put into definite action their new knowledge or their new belief.

If a speech is well constructed, it will aim at only a single purpose—a single new comprehensive item of knowledge; a single new belief; or a single new course of action.

To accomplish anything, the speech must have for its purpose some change to be wrought in the minds or conduct of the audience; but it is not enough that the speech merely advocate a change.

If the speech is to gain a hearing, the change it advocates must be one that, in some way, affects the welfare or the happiness of the audience. New thought, new belief, new action that in no way concerns an audience never can get a hearing.

The main point, the subject, the theme of an address, therefore, must be a thought or suggestion that has not already been accepted by the audience, and the acceptance of which is essential to their welfare or to their happiness.

In dealing with such a theme, the speaker must, at the outset, make the audience realize its personal connection with the problem in hand and its urgent need of giving the problem careful consideration. Then, the speaker may describe more fully the elements in his problem, and announce and describe the change of thought or belief or action that he is to advocate. These matters will constitute the introduction of his speech.

After the introduction, he should proceed at once to demonstrate the acceptability of his proposed change. He will beat down, if possible, all the preconceived prejudices and objections of his auditors to the proposed change of thought, belief, or action; and, at the same time, introduce whatever other relevant matters there are that may tend to demonstrate the acceptability of his proposed new stand. He may do this either by direct argument or by the presentation of well chosen facts in narrative which will compel his listeners to adopt his proposed change of thought, belief, or action. These matters will constitute the body of his speech.

When all the evidence of the truth or expediency of his proposition has been submitted, then he should rapidly summarize the various points that he has developed, restate the theme of his discourse, and appeal again to the urgent personal necessity for his auditors to give the problem careful consideration and to adopt his solution. These matters will constitute the conclusion of his speech.

In speech-composition, many other principles are, of course, essential to the assured success of the speaker. These other principles, it is hoped, the speaker will acquire through conscious or unconscious processes of assimilation from the study and paraphrasing of great works of oratory contained in this text. But the principles, here enumerated, are, nevertheless, those that are most elemental and indispensable for successful speech-composition.

APPENDIX NINE

CLASS DISCUSSION OF SPEECH SUBJECTS—GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

The full value of any class exercise in speech-making is seldom, if ever, realized, unless the subject matter of each formally prepared speech delivered before the class is made to develop class discussion through impromptu speeches; for the highest goal of speech training is to increase the power of the student to think on his feet while addressing an audience, and this power can be created to the fullest extent only by means of impromptu speaking.

Memorized declamation, as an exercise in speech training, has a minimum of value in building up the power to think on one's feet; oral paraphrasing has decidedly more value in developing this power; and exercises in the presentation of formally prepared original speeches have still greater value; but no one of these exercises can compare with impromptu speaking in class discussion as a means to attain this highest goal of speech training.

Class discussion by impromptu speaking is also valuable, because it gives training on one subject which has attracted the interest of the class, not to a single appointed speaker only, but to the whole class as well.

The benefits to be derived from class discussion by impromptu speeches are directly proportionate, however, to the difficulties that lie in the way of developing such discussion; and, if these difficulties are not understood, attempts to develop such discussion are likely to be dismal failures.

These difficulties are that few people understand what discussion really is; what constitutes its necessary background; and what are the means for taking advantage of this background when it is provided.

To develop discussion, the student must realize that his task

is to take the thought of a preceding speaker, and then to add to it, to subtract from it, to turn it around, to crush it, or to launch it forth in some new direction. Discussion never leaves a thought just as it was when first encountered. It compels a thought to shrink or expand, retreat or advance, survive or perish.

Discussion is born, then, always from a difference of opinion—either a difference of opinion among those who uphold the same general viewpoint, or a difference of opinion between those who are diametrically opposed on some main point of controversy. It permits the expression of fundamental differences and of every shade of opinion as well.

Discussion, however, is impossible without a proper background. There must be something to discuss. Some one must start the ball rolling. Some one first must advance thought that is capable of being added to, subtracted from, turned around, crushed, or launched forth in some other direction. And this task in a classroom exercise should fall upon some specially appointed, introductory student-lecturer or speech-maker.

Such an introductory student-lecturer or speech-maker, then, must realize that the success or failure of his performance will be measured almost solely by this criterion: Has he succeeded in stirring up the sluggish thought processes of his hearers sufficiently to promote discussion?—Is what he has said worth being subjected to subsequent comment or criticism? A speech that dies with its utterance is hardly worth the effort to make it.

Initial speakers should be held strictly accountable for introducing subject matter that is capable of discussion; and, in order that they may do this, the following suggestions are given. In preparing their addresses, they should choose their materials to meet the following tests: (1) Are the facts, to be presented, generally not known?—(2) Are the facts, to be presented, in any way unusual or extraordinary?—(3) Have the facts, to be presented, any value for promoting the happiness or welfare of the hearers?—(4) Do these facts, when taken together, support any single new thought or theory that is worth the consideration of the hearers?

If the introductory lecture, or speech, or address meets these requirements, then it will provide a proper background for discussion, and the burden for promoting such discussion may be shifted to the class or audience.

Two or three persons should be notified that, in the order in which they have been named, they will be expected to discuss the subject matter of the opening address; and, in order that they, and others, may be properly prepared, the whole class or audience should be asked to judge the opening speaker's discourse by the following criterions: (1) What new thought, if any, is the speaker trying to inculcate?—(2) Is this new thought of any consequence to me personally?—(3) Do I agree with the speaker in his main contention?—(4) Has the speaker overlooked, or evaded, any important phase of his subject?

Any class discussion, built upon answers to these questions, and arising from a difference of opinion between the listeners and the opening speaker, is bound to be highly interesting, instructive, and worth-while. By diverting attention from matters of style and delivery, and by compelling attention to thought and substance, it will develop with surprising speed the speaker's natural powers and his capacity to think on his feet while addressing an audience.

APPENDIX TEN

COLLATERAL READING— OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF REPORTING

There are two ways of carrying out assignments for collateral readings in connection with any course of study. They may be carried out in a haphazard way by the browsing method, which really involves little or no method at all; or they may be carried out in a carefully planned way, by a purposeful method, which is intended to yield definite results, and which, at the same time, necessarily produces, as a by-product, many valuable, though incidental, other results.

Either by the browsing method, or by the purposeful method, collateral readings may be found to be worth while; for, reading of any kind, according to any method, is better than no reading at all.

For the efficient student, however—the busy worker and the busy speech-maker—the browsing method is not recommended, since it too often results in wasted time and effort; but, for every student, on the assumption that all at least desire to be efficient, the purposeful method is most earnestly recommended.

The following suggestions for carrying out collateral reading assignments will therefore stress first the purposeful method, and then give directions for attaining a purpose even in the browsing method.

As the student or speech-maker adopts the purposeful method in connection with collateral reading, he should keep constantly in mind the true nature of collateral reading. It is reading that runs parallel to, and beside, other reading, to verify, to amplify,

and to explain or interpret from other viewpoints, the original reading.

Collateral reading, therefore, should have its purpose suggested by the thought-content of the original reading. Whatever purpose it has, this purpose should be derived from, or associated with, the text of the original reading.

The purpose of collateral reading in a course of study built upon this History of American Oratory should be derived from, or associated with, the thought-content of this textbook as the original reading; and this purpose, furthermore, should be determined with a deliberate plan to make the collateral reading serviceable as a source of ideas, to enable the student to take part effectively in class discussions of speeches and lectures, given by other students, on subjects developed from the thought-content of this textbook.

To carry out collateral reading assignments, the first duty of the student is, therefore, to determine, if possible, before entering upon the reading, what his purpose in the reading shall be. This purpose can be formulated, of course, only after a thorough and critical study of the original text. Then it may be formulated by applying to some leading thought of the original text such standards of criticism as the following: (1) Is it true?—(2) Is it complete or thorough?—(3) Is the emphasis misplaced?—(4) Is the implication, or application, justified?

By applying such standards of criticism to original reading matter—by approaching all reading matter with the attitude of the scientific investigator, the doubter, or the controversialist—the student may generally acquire in advance a definite purpose for collateral reading; but, if, from an original reading, no such purpose does develop, then the student need not despair of ultimately discovering a purpose for a collateral reading.

He may, in such case, trust that a recommended reading has a

purpose, and he may undertake such a reading with the intention of discovering its purpose.

To discover a purpose in this way, he must seek continually to find some application of the thought-content of the collateral reading to the thought-content of the original reading. Does it verify, or disprove, some leading thought in the original reading? Does it amplify this thought? Does it change the emphasis of this thought? Does it explain or interpret this thought from a new viewpoint?

This second method of approaching collateral reading is the method to be employed while the student is simply browsing. It is not so efficient as the first method; for it requires the student to undertake a search without knowing at the start what he is looking for; but, in some cases, it may be necessary; and, in all cases, it will rescue the browsing method of collateral reading from involving a too extravagant waste of time and energy.

Sooner or later every collateral reading should subserve some purpose in connection with an original reading; and, to make sure that such a purpose is subserved, all reports on collateral reading, whether in oratory, history, or biography, should be made in the following way: Some statement or inference derived from the original reading should be recorded; then the attitude of the student in respect to this statement or inference should be recorded—whether it is true, whether it needs amplification, whether its emphasis is misplaced, or whether it needs explanation or interpretation—and, finally, thereafter, material derived from a collateral reading to substantiate the student's critical viewpoint should be recorded.

All this matter should be presented in topic outline form, employing full sentences wherever necessary to make the meaning clear, but never employing a paragraph structure, unless specifically required by an instructor for elaborate and finished work in critical composition.

A blank form serviceable for such reports is appended below:

REPORT ON COLLATERAL READING

Book, Author, Pages.....

Statement or Inference from Original Reading.....

.....

New Viewpoint Obtained from Collateral Reading.....

.....

Facts to Substantiate New Viewpoint Obtained from Collateral Reading....

.....

.....

CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF FREQUENTLY MISPRONOUNCED PROPER NAMES OCCURRING IN THIS TEXT

Agincourt = ä''-zhǎn''-cqr', ä''-zhǎn''-cōor'

Aginaldo = ä''-gŷ-nāl'-dō

Alamo = ä'-lā-mō

Alton, Ill. = al'-tōn, ôl'-tūn

America = ä-mēr'-l-cā

Amherst = äm'-ērst

Appomattox = äp''-ô-măt'-ôx

Arkansas = är'-kân-sä

Armada = är-mā'-lā

Armageddon = är-mā-ğēd'-ôn

Aristides = är-ŷs-tī'-dēs

Balkans = bal'-kânş

Beguns = bē'-gūnş

Bernard = bēr'-nārd

Borah = bō'-rā

Borysthenes = bōr-ŷs'-thē-nēs

Boscawen = bōs-eŷ'-wēn

Bossuet = bō''-sŷē'

Bourbon = bōr'-bōn, bōōr'-būn

Bowdoin = bōd'-ōn

Brougham = brō'-ām, or brōōm

Bucephalus = bū-çēph'-ā-lūs

Buchanan = bū-ehǎn'-ān

Büchner = būeh'-nēr

Buena Vista = bwā'-nä vīs'-tä

Calhoun = cāl-hōn', cāl-hōōn'

Caligula = cāl-ŷ'-gū-lā

Capitol = cäp'-l-tōl

Catiline = cāt'-l-līn

Cavour = cā-vōr', cā-vōōr'

Cervera = thēr-ve'-rā

Champlain = çhām-plān'

Chapin = chā'-pīn

Chatham = chăt'-ām

Chase, *Salmon P.* = sār'-ôn

Cheyenne = çhē-ēn'

Choate = chōt (not shōt, not kōt)

Chrysostom = ehŷs'-ōs-tōm

Cid = çīd (Sp. thōth)

Cincinnati, O. = çīn''-çīn-ā'-tī

Concord, Mass. = eōn-eōrd, kōng-kērd

Consul = eōn'-sūl

Copernicus = eō-pēr'-nī-eūs

Crecy = erē'-çŷ

Curran = cūr'-ān

Danvers, Mass. = dān'-vērs

Dartmouth = dārt'-mūth

Dedham, Mass. = dēd'-ām

Delilah = dēl-l'-lā

Demosthenes = dē-mōs'-thē-nēs''

De Pauw = dē-pā', dē-pō', dī-paw'

Depew = dē-pēw', dē-pū', dī-pē + ōō'

Descartes = de-çärt', dā-kärt'

Des Moines = dē-moin'

Diet of *Worms* = vōrmş

Eblis = ēb'-līs

Edinburgh = ēd'-ŷn-bū''-rō

Entente = än-tānt'

Erskine = ērs'-kīn

Everts = ēv'-ārts

Faneuil Hall = fān'-ûl, fān'-yul

February = fēb'-rū-ā-rŷ

Foraker = fōr'-ā-kēr

Froude = frōd, frōōd

Fulton = ful'-tōn

Gaeta = gēē'-tā

Gallatin = gāl'-ā-tīn

Garibaldi = gā-rī-bāl'-dī

Genêt = zhê-ne'
 Gengis = gên'-gîs, jêng-gîs
 Giles = gîlg, jîlz
 Glasgow = glâs'-gō (not
 glâs'-gā + oō)
 Gough = gōf
 Grattan = grāt'-n
 Guerriere = gēr-i-ēr'
 Haeckel = hêk'-êl (not hāk'-êl)
 Hayti = hā'-tî (not hāy-tî)
 Helena, Mont. = hêl'-ê-nā
 Houston, Tex. = hūs'-tôn (not
 hōs-tôn)
 Hughes = hūs, hews, hē + oōz
 Ichabod = îeh'-â-bōd, ik'-â-bōd
Il Penseroso = îl pên-sê-rō'-sō
 Ixion = îx'-î-ôn
 Jacobinism = jâc'-ô-bîn-îsm
 Jena = ye'-nā, yā'-nā
 Khartoum = kâr''-tôm', kâr''-tōôm'
 Kossuth = kōsh'-ōōt, or kō-suth',
 kō-sōōth'
 LaFollette = lâ-fôl'-êt
 L'Allegro = lâ-lê'-grō
 Lamar = lâ-mâr'
 Laplace = lâ-plâç', lâ-plâs'
 Laurens = lâ-rêns, law'-rênz
 Leibnitz = lib'-nîts
 Louisville, Ky. = lō'-îs-vîl, or
 lōō'-î-vîl
 L'Ouverture, Toussaint = lō''-vêr''-
 tūr', tō''-sânt'
 McAdoo = mæ'-â-dōō
 McLeod = mæc-loud'
 Macedon = mæ'-cê-dôn
 Magellan = mâ-gêl'-ân
 Maximilian = mæx''-î-mîl'-yân
 Mazzini = mât-sî'-nî
 Michelangelo = mî''-ehêl'-ân'-gêl-ô
 Milan = mîl'-ân, or mî-lân'
 Miltiades = mîl-tî'-â-lêç
 Mirabeau = mîr'-â-bō

Missolonghi = mîs-ô-lôn'-gî
 Moloch = mō'-lôeh
 Monterey = mōn''-tê-re'
 New Orleans = new ôr'-lê-âns
 Nihilists = nî'-hî-lîsts
 Nott, *Eliphalet* = ê-lîph'-â-lêt
 Nueces = nû-c'-çêç
 Omaha, Neb. = ô'-mâ-hâ
 Ossawatomic, Kas. = ô-sâ-wâ'-tô-mê
 Ottawa, Ill. = ô'-tâ-wâ
 Palfrey = pâl'-frê
 Papinian = pâ-pîn'-î-ân
 Parliament = pâr'-lî-mênt
 Phocion = phô'-shôn
 Platte, river, Neb. = plât
 Pottawatomic, Kas. = pô-tâ-wâ'-
 tô-mê
 Prentiss, *Scargent S.* = sâr'-gênt
 Proviso = prô-vî'-çô
 Pueblo = pwêb'-lô
 Quixote = kî-hô'-tê
 Rio Grande = rî'-ô grân'-dê
 Roosevelt = rō'-gê-vêlt
 Root = rōōt (not rōōt)
 Salisbury, N. H. = sâlç'-bû-rîç
 San Jacinto, river, Tex. = sâ-n jâ-
 çîn'-tô
 Schley = slîç
 Schouler = sho'-lêr (not shoō'-lêr)
 Schurman = shûr-mân
 Schurz = shûrts, shirts
 Seine = sên, sâ-n
 Seward = sôō'-ârd
 Sikh = sîk, sêk
 Sioux Falls = sôō
 Slidell = slî-dêl'
 Socrates = sôc'-râ-têç
 Solferino = sôl''-fê-rî'-nô
 Spokane, Wash. = spô-kân'
 St. Louis, Mo. = sânt lō'-îs
 Steuben = stû'-bên
 Suffolk = sûf'-ôk

Suwaroff = sʊ-vă'-rôf

Verres = vē'-rĕg

Versailles = vēr-să'-y'

Vilas = vī'-lās

Voltaire = vōl''-târ'

Westminster = wĕst-mĭn'-stēr

Whitefield, George = whĭt'-fĕld

Wichita, Kas. = wĭch'-ĭ-tă

Windham = wĭn'-hām

Wirt = wĭrt

Yazoo, river = yăz'-ōō

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